

# *The* ARMENIAN REVIEW

**AUTUMN, 1955**

**SPECIAL**

**THE RAMGAVARS BEFORE THE  
TRIBUNAL OF PUBLIC OPINION**

by

Reuben Darbinian

also

Vardges Aharonian  
Dr. George P. Rice, Jr.  
Edward Alexander  
Prof. Werner Winter  
P. K. Thomajan  
Dr. Firuz Kazemzadeh  
Diana Der Hovhanessian  
Armen Saninian  
Rita Jerrehian  
Harry Komoorian  
Nuber Kazanjian  
Louise Nalbandian

**AN EIGHT YEAR INDEX**

Compiled by Vahe A. Sarafian

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## THE ARMENIAN REVIEW

*Editor-in-chief*  
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*The* **ARMENIAN** **REVIEW**

# THE ARMENIAN REVIEW

AUTUMN, 1955

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AUTUMN: SEPTEMBER, 1955

## THE RAMGAVARS BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL OF PUBLIC OPINION

REUBEN DARBINIAN



### The Charge

On June 26 last the *New York Times*, the *Boston Post* and several other papers carried the news of a sensational charge by Mrs. Stella Andrassy, former press and radio liaison officer with the New York Civil Defense Office, made before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that 34 foreign language newspapers in the United States followed the Communist line. The list included five Armenian newspapers: the *Ramgavar Baikar*, *Nor Or* (*New Day*), and *The Armenian Mirror-Spectator*, the "Progressive" or Communist *Lraper*, and the *Hunchak* equally Communist *Eridasart Hayastan*.

Of these five the last two, especially the "Progressive" *Lraper*, at least gave no outward indication of uneasiness. Their general Communist character is so blatantly ob-

vious that it precluded any hope of successfully repelling the charges which were levelled against them. However, the case was different with the three *Ramgavar* papers which, thanks to their hitherto ambiguous attitude, could still hope to continue to mislead the American authorities by concealing their pro-soviet nature and by posing as liberals. Unable to conceal their alarm they gave vent to a vigorous outburst of sanctimonious protest and righteous indignation like innocents who have been unscrupulously accused by malicious enemies. Instead of coming to their senses, admitting the truth and trying in a measure to mend their ways, they cut loose with a volley of fulminatory attacks whose nature is no different than those used by their longtime collaborators the Communists, namely to abuse the person of Mrs. Andrassy and to

cast doubt on her credibility as a witness, and to minimize the importance of her disclosures; and looking through her they saw their opponents the Armenian Revolutionary Federation to whom they ascribed the full force of the Andrassy charges.

Simultaneous with the Andrassy charges the Ramgavar ("Democratic Liberal") Party of America was holding its annual convention. One would expect that the Convention would reflect upon the party's disastrous policy of the past, and chastened by the charges before the Senate Subcommittee, at least in the eleventh hour would make an effort to abandon its pro-soviet policy and would adopt a line more in keeping with its name of "democrats" or "liberals." Unfortunately we saw no sign of genuine repentance or desire for reform, but on the contrary the Ramgavar convention made it appear as if it was the Armenian Revolutionary Federation which was being accused — the very organization which had nothing to do with the Senate Subcommittee nor the charges of Mrs. Andrassy.

It is highly significant that despite the voluminous mass of pro-Soviet literature which has been published in their papers in the course of more than thirty years, despite their public declarations in behalf of the Soviet regime, and despite their long time collaboration with overt and disguised Communists of America and abroad, the Ramgavar editors have the cheek to proclaim to the world that they have been informed upon by the Dashnaks.

From their rebuttals published in *Baika*, *Nor Or* and *Mirror-Spectator*, it turns up that were it not for the Dashnaks the American authorities would never have interested themselves in their pro-Soviet propaganda of the past, and that no American would have had any idea of the policies of their papers, much less to suspect them of having followed the Soviet line.

If informing or slander could suffice to

expose the suspects before Senate committees the Dashnak organization and its papers would have disappeared off the face of the earth long ago. Because there is not a type of informing or slander which the Ramgavars and their confederates the "Hunchak" and the "Progressives" neglected during the past twenty years in order to discredit and dissolve the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and its affiliated organizations, and stop publication of their papers. But what was the result of this long list of slanders? Only this that, instead of the Dashnak publications, *the Haireniks*, the *Armenian Review* and *Asbarez*, it is three Ramgavar papers, one Hunchak and one Progressive, which are accused of following the Soviet line before the Senate Subcommittee.

If the editors of the three Ramgavar papers possessed a modicum of sanity and honesty, if they were capable of impartially viewing their fanatical pro-Soviet propaganda of the past thirty years, they would readily see that no Dashnak informing or slander was necessary in order to forge the charge which Mrs. Andrassy levelled against them before the Senate Subcommittee.

Assuredly, the Ramgavar editors deep in their soul see and feel that the charges against them are not altogether baseless, and that the Dashnaks had nothing to do with their being accused. These editors are not simpletons or ignoramuses as not to know that in the United States there are not only governmental agencies but a host of private organizations which follow the contents of our foreign language newspapers, including the Armenian. And this is done through competent and accredited translators. Therefore, they had no need to call upon the aid of the Dashnaks in their final conclusion that certain papers were following the Soviet line.

What Mrs. Andrassy divulged before the Senate Subcommittee in regard to the Ram-

gavar papers can be proved with devastating evidence by anyone who is a consistent reader of these papers. And this pertains to the content of said papers during a period of twenty to thirty years. Unfortunately, even now we can not say that the pro-Soviet line of the Ramgavar papers has undergone any change basically. And if there are occasional lame criticisms of the Soviet or a kind word or two in regard to the United States or the free West's foreign policy, this is done in order to pull the wool over the public eye as we clearly witnessed after the charges before the Senate Subcommittee.

That the line of the Ramgavar papers has undergone no basic change and remains the same as has been during the past thirty years is indisputably proved by the fact that Ramgavar editors and writers continue to call the Dashnaks "Anti-Armenianists" or "anti-Etchmiadzinists" for the simple reason that the Dashnaks are opposed to the Soviet regime in Armenia and consider the Holy See of Etchmiadzin as the servile tool of the Kremlin.

For, if the Ramgavars had not espoused the Soviet viewpoint why then would they regard the enemies of the Soviet regime the enemies of Armenia or the Holy See of Etchmiadzin as well, and why should they continue their fight against the Soviet enemy Dashnaks? This kind of hostility to the Dashnaks is the precise procedure of the Communist propagandists.

True, the followers of the Ramgavar Party are not communists at heart; most of them are conservative people. But unfortunately their minds have been poisoned for years by the Ramgavar editors who, although not card-bearing members, have consistently promoted and preached such ideas which are in perfect keeping with the Soviet line, and which have been dictated by secular and ecclesiastical agents in disguise.

Furthermore, although they themselves are not card-bearing members of the Com-

munist Party, Ramgavar leaders for the past thirty years persistently have collaborated with the "Progressives" and the "Hunchaks" who for all practical purposes are Communists, and have joined with them in a united front always to fight the anti-communist Dashnaks. They have carried on this anti-Dashnak fight not only in the internal matters of the Armenian communities of the world, but they have projected it into the politics of those countries in which they live.

This fact is so obvious that Ramgavar editors will be unable to deny it no matter how hard they try to repel the charges before the Senate Subcommittee. They will not be able to deny it because the proof of their notorious collaboration with Communists has been recorded in their files of long years with indelible letters.

#### How They Deny It

Baikar's reply to Mrs. Andrassy's charges in connection with the three Ramgavar papers is quite significant:

"For all the printed files of Baikar have recorded just the opposite of your accusation, and can prove it irrefutably. Baikar not only has not followed the Communist line, but has been opposed to the Communist Party line consistently, theoretically, and in its advocacy of foreign policy."

Ramgavar editors are exceedingly naive, or their memory is short, or they insult the intelligence of their accusers when they think, because of their ignorance of the Armenian language, the latter will be unable to search the files of their papers and produce the overwhelming mass of evidence against them.

Moreover, assuming the airs of offended innocents, the Ramgavar editors even make threats of suing Mrs. Andrassy if she dares to repeat her charges outside the Congressional immunity of the Senate Subcommittee. And since they know that we have been making the same charges for years without senatorial immunity, they hurl the

same dark threats against us if we continue to repeat our charges.

Ramgavar editors no doubt know, and if they don't know they can easily find out from their lawyers, that they can never place Mrs. Andrassy or the Dashnaks in the role of the defendant. Their threat is but a bluff to prevent Mrs. Andrassy and the Dashnaks from exposing their efforts to mislead the authorities and the public opinion of this land.

Let us suppose for a moment that, because of their ignorance of the Armenian language, the authorities and private organizations of America are not in a position to make a thorough study of the files of Baikar and Nor Or. Can the same claim be advanced about the Armenian Mirror-Spectator which is published in the English language? This paper no doubt is inspired by the elders, and although it has changed many editors in the course of years, nevertheless it has always preserved the venomous breath of the seniors especially when it has come to attacking the Dashnaks. And since taking a position against the Dashnaks in Armenian internal affairs of the past 30-35 years has meant nothing but following the Communist or Soviet line, being edited by youthful editors who are ignorant of the history of the Dashnaks and whose hatred of the Dashnaks is even greater than that of the seniors, Mirror-Spectator has often been more wanton in its expressions than even Baikar. Thus, those who are ignorant of the Armenian language can get a fairly accurate idea of the Ramgavar policies by reading the Mirror-Spectator.

This is the reason why the Ramgavars whip up a storm against Mrs. Andrassy, casting doubt on her credibility, or ascribing her information to Dashnak informing, forgetting that both Mrs. Andrassy, the American authorities and private organizations, having Mirror-Spectator at their disposal, can have followed the Ramgavar line for years without the necessity of

"being informed upon by the Dashnaks." That Mirror-Spectator has carried ample proof of its pro-Soviet policy, as well as the pro-Soviet policy of the Ramgavar seniors, the reader will see from following excerpts.

Before quoting from Baikar and the English language organ Mirror-Spectator, however, it is pertinent to say a word here in regard to the form of self-justification recorded in the June 29, 1955 issue of Baikar editorial. Baikar assures us that the Ramgavar Party "has cherished unflinching devotion and unshakable loyalty to freedom, to its preservation and implementation everywhere and for every individual."

Further on in the same editorial we read: "This Party has maintained a safe distance between extreme ideologies, such as Communism, and itself."

But how to reconcile these categorical assurances with the pro-Soviet policy which the Ramgavar Party consistently has maintained ever since the downfall of Free Armenia and which has been tenaciously adhered to by Ramgavar editors not only in the United States but in all Armenian communities of the world?

Ramgavar papers to this day have considered the Soviet takeover as a great blessing to the Armenian people and each year they zealously observe November 29, the infamous day of Armenia's enslavement, as the "Day of Armenia's salvation!" On the other hand, the same papers deride May 28, the birthday of Independent Armenia. The Ramgavar editors do not even want to preserve the memory of Independent Armenia's freedoms which were abrogated by the Communists and regard the Dashnaks, the builders of those freedoms, as their mortal enemies, meanwhile glorifying the Soviet regime which enslaved the Armenian people.

For more than 30 years the Ramgavars, by the admission of one of their own editors, "have cravenly praised" the Soviet re-

gime in Armenia, no different than the unabashed eulogy of the Communist Progressives and the Hunchaks. In reality, the Ramgavar press in the United States and abroad has literally repeated the same ideas and distortions in regard to our immediate past as the Soviet propaganda. And while the Soviet was condemning the Dashnaks as "the enemies of the Armenian people," the Ramgavar Mirror-Spectator, in its issue of November 18, 1942, was declaring:

"Therefore, we were delighted when the great Lenin came into power and the Red Army helped the people of Armenia to overthrow the national government, thereby establishing the nucleus of the present system of the Union of Soviet Republics. For the past 22 years, the Republic of Armenia, under the tutelage of the mighty Soviet Government, has given our people a haven with comfort, hapiness and security." The reference to the national government which the Soviet overthrew is to the Dashnak Government of free and independent Armenia.

An interesting thing about the above quote is that it is found in the text of a speech delivered by a certain Armenian before a "Congress of American-Soviet Friendship" held in the fall of 1942. The "Congress of American-Soviet Friendship" was later declared a "Communist" front set up "to honor and support Soviet Russia" by the U. S. Attorney General. The same speech also carried this sentiment:

"I wish publicly to eulogize the Soviet Union for what it has done for us Armenians."

Thus, in the internal life of the Armenians as well as in the politics of the centuries in which Armenians live, the Ramgavars have collaborated not with the anti-Communist Dashnaks, but with overt or disguised Communists. Even today the Ramgavars collaborate with the "Progressives" and the Hunchak Communists in the

so-called "Armenian National Council of America," ostensibly working for "the Armenian Cause," and have showed no signs of severing their ties with the Communists.

The Ramgavars cannot plead that the so-called "Progressives" are not Communists, and that if they had known it they would not have collaborated with them. The evidence in this respect is against them. As early as May 17, 1938, Baikar wrote:

"After a search of long months to discover a new mask, the HOC (Committee of Aid of Armenia) elements of the Armenian faction of the Communist Party of America have now decided to come forth under the name of 'American Armenian Progressive Union.'"

There can be no longer any doubt, therefore, that the Ramgavars deliberately continue to collaborate with the Communists under the name of the so-called "Armenian National Council of America."

Baikar would have us believe that its party has always had "unflinching love and unshakeable loyalty to the cause of freedom, its preservation and its implementation everywhere and for every individual." Unfortunately, such devotion and loyalty has been no different than the assurances of the Communists whose meaning and real worth is well known to the world. This is the reason why Baikar for the past 30 years has seen freedom there where there is no freedom. Only recently, in its issues of April 27-28, Baikar published the report of a Swedish traveler in Armenia which was pure Soviet propaganda, and without checking its veracity, it offered it to its readers as the real truth. This is what Baikar wrote about the Swedish traveler:

"The visitor, namely the Swedish writer, had occasion to interview members of the Government. He first asked about the autonomy of the country. They all declared that Armenia is absolutely independent and is governed only by the Armenians, that she is free to sever her ties with the Soviet any



time she wants by a single decision of the Parliament."

Baikar, however, conceals from its readers the fact that the Minister of Interior of Armenia is a Moscow-appointed Russian by the name of Peoter V. Piskunov, and the Minister of Production is another Russian by the name of Ivan I. Solinsky, just as are all Armenian officials in Soviet Armenia appointed by Moscow.

### Let The Facts Speak

In those hectic days when Stalin was liquidating the opposition by the thousands and ten thousands with a ruthless barbarism which is seldom seen in history, anti-communists and communists alike, in its issue of March 15, 1935, Baikar wrote:

"If the Soviet Government deals harshly with political agitators and enemies, the fault is not hers but belongs to those plotters who conspire her overthrow and to this end resort to overt and covert means."

This is no different than the very manner in which the Soviet propaganda of those days justified the Soviet dictator's purges even if the scores of thousands of Communists who were purged had not conspired against the Soviet regime, the very regime they had helped create. Their only crime was that they were opposed to seeing their cherished regime being prostituted into Stalin's one-man dictatorship.

For years Baikar has tried to represent Soviet Armenia to its readers as a "perfectly independent" country, free to secede from the Union whenever she desired. But today, to justify its defense of Soviet Armenia, Baikar writes in its editorial of July 20, 1955:

"A small particle (Soviet Armenia) in the Soviet Union, under irresistible pressure and constraint, she is forced to do what the totality does or wants."

What has happened to the "perfectly independent" Armenia which is "free to secede from the Union any time she wants?" The explanation of this glaring contradic-

tion is to be found in Baikar's unique position. Baikar is forced to justify itself against the charge of pro-Sovietism, the gist of its plea being that it could not very well blame Soviet Armenia for her regime as long as she was impotent to do otherwise, and as long as she was but a small particle in a vastly larger union and was forced to do what the latter dictated.

In other words, when it was advantageous to praise Soviet Armenia to the skies, Baikar represented her as a perfectly independent country. But now that it is confronted with a charge of pro-Soviet record, Armenia suddenly becomes an insignificant little and impotent country, with no recourse but to submit to the will of a vastly superior power.

According to Baikar, the only exception to the present explanation was the first period of sovietized Armenia when, presumably, the Armenian Red rulers of Erivan were free of Moscow's pressure. In those days the Government of Soviet Armenia supposedly pursued an entirely different, pro-Armenian policy. This is what Baikar wrote in its editorial of July 20, 1955:

"When Moscow's pressure was lacking and the Armenian Government was free to administer its own affairs, we know that after the revolution many members of the former government and their party who wanted to leave the country had free passage to abroad."

First of all, the Ramgavar paper's opinion that in the initial stages there was no Moscow pressure in Soviet Armenia is basically wrong. Were it not for the intervention of Soviet Russia and the Red Army the Armenian Bolsheviks would never have been in a position to take over the government in Armenia. It was Moscow's pressure which sovietized Armenia.

Second, what took place in Armenia in the latter part of 1920 was never a "revolution", but a joint invasion of Moscow and Ankara.

Third, the members of the former government, the parliament and the party, namely the Dashnaks, despite the written promises of the Soviet Government, not only were denied free passage to leave the country, but they were arrested at the border, when leaving the country, were brought back to Erivan and were thrown into jail. Those who had preferred to stay behind were persecuted and the jails of Armenia were bulging with prisoners. Some of these were driven to the interior of Russia, others were poleaxed. Those who finally sought refuge abroad assuredly would have been poleaxed if they had stayed behind. And without doubt the thousands of prisoners in the jails would have been liquidated were it not for the popular uprising of February, 1921, which temporarily drove out the Soviet rulers and freed the political prisoners. To claim that there was political freedom in Armenia in the initial stages of the Soviet takeover is nothing but rank Soviet propaganda.

"And let them not say that Baikar has not criticised when there were persecutions and exiles in Armenia. We have criticised." Baikar assures us of this with brazen effrontery. (See Baikar, July 20, 1955).

But when and where did these criticisms take place, we ask? We Dashnaks who have been watching the Ramgavar press during the past 30 years in a vain search of criticisms of Soviet crimes not only have failed to see a single serious criticism, but we have seen justifications or at least silence in regard to horrible crimes. And if there have been occasional tolerant criticisms, these are buried in a sea of craven praises which have overflowed the pages of Baikar.

In its issue of September 24, 1937, Baikar wrote: "With the exception of the anti-Armenian clique (meaning the Dashnaks) the Armenians of the homeland and of abroad have been loyal to the Soviet Government and Leader Stalin is best advised of this fact."

And to think that these lines were not even written during the course of the last world war, but as early as 1937 when Stalin was deep in his purges in the Soviet Union as well as in Armenia, purges in which thousands of Armenians, intellectuals, peasants, workers, Communist or anti-Communist, were either executed or were doomed to a slow death in the cold of Siberia.

If Baikar did not follow the Communist line, what forced it in those days, thousands of miles away from Armenia, to express such loyalty to Stalin in such a spontaneous, baseless and unpardonable manner, and that not only in behalf of the Ramgavars but in behalf of all the non-Dashnak Armenians? And how to explain that extraordinary congratulatory telegram to Stalin which the Ramgavar annual convention sent in 1943 to which Stalin responded with a cordial reply, and concerning which Baikar boasted that Stalin's reply was not a mere courtesy reply. "There are points in Stalin's reply and in the words of the Consul (Y. Kiselev) that this is true. The President of the Soviet Union and the Prime Minister have used the occasion of their reply to our Convention to express through our organization their *gratitude* to the Armenian people."

The Ramgavar editors discreetly omit telling us for what kind of services of their party they deserved Stalin's gratitude or just why the Soviet Dictator should express his appreciation to the Armenian people.

Speaking of one of Stalin's speeches made during the Soviet elections following the World War, the Baikar editorial comments on the Soviet Dictator's view that the Soviet Union has found in Communism *the best system* which will solve two most pressing problems: the abolition of the causes of war; and the solution of nationality problem. This is what Baikar wrote in this connection:

"There will hardly be any serious objection against the second of these points. The

Soviet Union truly and radically tried to solve the nationality problem, theoretically in its entirety, within the limits of practicability, on a basis of equality. When time removes the difference between the theoretical and the practical — evolution will take care of that — all the peoples of the Soviet Union, great or small, shall be happy that the abovementioned system has solved their national problem." (Baikar, Feb. 12, 1946).

According to Baikar, therefore, the national problem has been solved under the Soviet Union. Whereas, even political infants know that there is not any kind of freedom under the Soviet regime, neither of the individual nor of the nation, and that no national problem can be solved without freedom. But if Baikar does not believe in the independence of nations as the supreme manifestation of freedom, but believes in a federation of nations, in that case the model should be Switzerland and not the Soviet Union, within whose borders four nationalities live side by side in real freedom, something which the Soviet has never granted to her nationalities and whose equality of nations is a forced equalization under slavery.

As to the abolition of the causes of war, Baikar continues to comment on Stalin's speech: "It must be admitted that the question is put plainly and most boldly. The world will ponder and give its answer. The period of dubious stand and wishful thinking apparently is over. It is the new challenge to preserve the peace which must engage our cool and profound attention." (Baikar, Feb. 12, 1946).

As the reader will see Baikar does not reject unreservedly the idea of establishing world peace through Communism, as do all anti-communists, but recommends it for a profound examination, implying that it is ready even for this eventuality.

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary

of its party's founding, Baikar wrote the following:

"We should have found a new spark of hope and we should cling to it, especially work for it, so that it would expand and turn into a burning torch. The Ramgavar Party from the first moment grasped the fact that it was its calling to see this spark and to make it visible to the Armenian people. In reality, this was the firm anchor."

That Baikar is speaking about the spark of Communism is clearly seen by the following words from the same editorial:

"It was easy to see the spark which, during the unheard of world upheavals, flickered in a narrow corner of historic Armenia on the Plain of Ararat as a new and natural trail which was being unfolded for our efforts for survival and the fate of our political problem. But it was not an easy thing to make this spark visible; it required a superhuman effort to tear off the almost impenetrable fog which had been created by the Bolshevik Revolution, both as a theory and as a practical policy. And this was true of both the internal and external fronts. The 'civilized' world, as we had been taught to recognize it, shunned this revolution as if it were a plague and all those who looked upon it as one of the factors of the anchor were likely to be excommunicated. What was missing on the external front was made up on the internal front by an Armenian organization (reference to the Armenian Revolutionary Federation) which had an opportunity to play a historic role and dealt with it (the Bolshevik Revolution) with infinite incompetence and irresponsibility, and made undying hatred of that Revolution (the Bolshevik Revolution) inside whose perimeter only flickered the spark of hope the crux of its activity and policy in exile."

It is this very same Baikar, the organ of the Ramgavar Party which by its own confession has clung to "the spark of Bolshevik Revolution", together with the other Ram-

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gavar papers, is raising a hue and cry because a charge has been made before the Senate Subcommittee against its three papers for having followed the Communist line!

### Some More Proof

Some six years ago, in reply to a question as to what he thought of the eleven Communist leaders who had been sentenced by a New York court, President Truman had said that it was not his habit to express opinions about traitors.

Baikar put in quotes the word "traitors" and in its editorial of March 5, 1949, it wrote:

"Traitor, the most terrible word which can be hurled at any faction, and when the word is used now in connection with so diametrically opposed viewpoints, 'the traitors' claim that what they do is for the peace and those who use that word (reference to President Truman) are accused with equal vehemence of wanting war, of expecting war impatiently — one must be exceedingly objective and cool in order to reach a correct and just conclusion."

And what is Baikar's conclusion?

"If one sincerely works for the peace — peace with its inseparable freedom and justice — naturally has a right that he present himself as the personification of greatest human virtues and turn the tables on the accusers as the embodiment of treason." (Baikar, March 5, 1949).

Do you see with what circumlocutory dexterity the Ramgavar paper defends the Communist traitors, knowing well the while that what the Communists want is not the real peace, has never been the peace, and that the "peace" they pursue has never been inseparable from freedom and justice? In its Esopian style the Ramgavar Baikar tries to impress its readers that the eleven convicted Communists not only are not traitors, but that they can return the compliment to their accusers, in this case on President Truman!

Again, in a February issue of 1939 Baikar wrote:

"It is a criminal error and an offence to say that the Bolshevik Government of Armenia has had only one aim abroad — the dissemination of Bolshevik propaganda and subversion."

This means that the Ramgavar paper believes that the Bolsheviks of Armenia also pursue constructive aims. Unfortunately, Baikar discreetly avoids telling its readers what those constructive aims abroad are. We know of no Bolshevik constructive activities outside Armenia except to wage a fight against the Dashnaks, and to break up the life of Armenian organizations of abroad.

Consider the following gem which appeared in March 17, 1934 issue of Baikar:

"The thing which endears Soviet Armenia to all Armenians is the present regime (meaning the Soviet regime)."

If Baikar had not even spoken these highly significant words, the sentiment couched behind them is obvious from the character of their hostility to the Dashnaks. If, indeed, the thing which endears Armenia to the Ramgavars were not the Soviet regime it is logical that they would have cherished the Independent Republic of Armenia with at least equal affection when our fatherland was a free state under the Dashnak Government which was elected by the free vote of the Armenian people. But in those days the Ramgavars opposed the Independent Republic of Armenia, were even hostile to it, whereas today when Armenia is not free, is a captive of the Soviet, they are exceedingly tolerant and even affectionate toward the Bolshevik rulers while they accuse or attack the Dashnaks as "anti-Armenians."

They did not call us anti-Armenians when we fought against the Tsarist and Ottoman tyrannies, but we have become anti-Armenians when we began to fight against the Communist tyranny which is

infinitely worse than the Tsarist and Ottoman tyrannies.

During one of the darkest periods of Armenian history when Stalin was making his barbaric purges in the Soviet Union and Armenia, the Ramgavar organ Baikar wrote:

"It is difficult to find another period in our history when Armenia enjoyed a higher and a more important position from the international viewpoint than she does today." (Baikar, June 17, 1936).

This was being said about Soviet Armenia which was neither free nor independent, nor even with any possibility of maintaining regular relations with the outside world. The Ramgavar paper is so blinded by the Soviet's international prestige of today that it imagines Soviet Armenia is equally important in international affairs. The truth is, Armenia under the Soviet rule not only does not occupy an important position internationally but has no importance at all. What foreign government has recognized the Government of Soviet Armenia and has established diplomatic relations with her, despite the fact that Soviet Armenia has been in existence for 35 years?

If Ramgavar editors had not viewed Armenian history with Communist spectacles it would be impossible for them to deny that their hated national (Dashnak) Government of free Armenia, although surviving a brief existence of two and a half years, enjoyed a far more important position internationally than the Soviet Armenia of today. Armenia under Dashnaks was an independent state, recognized by a number of world powers, including the United States, exchanged diplomatic representatives with them, concluded loans, and maintained regular commercial and cultural relations with them.

Following are the words of a prominent Ramgavar leader, published in the Feb. 21, 1948 issue of Baikar:

"It is my firm conviction, and I think

all those who have studied the history of Armenia will agree with me, that Armenia, as a state, during the course of centuries has never been so free as now (meaning under the Soviet regime)."

With such ringing lies the Ramgavar for more than thirty years had fed their simple-minded readers and have poisoned their minds, although they know very well that in the Soviet Armenia which they glorify there is no freedom of speech, of religion, of press, of public assembly, of organization, or labor, movement or communication — elementary human rights which are enjoyed by the peoples of the free West.

The truth, unfortunately, is the exact opposite of what Baikar portrays. In its entire history Armenia has never had a time when the Armenian people were so oppressed, so devoid of any kind of freedom as now under the Soviet regime.

The following excerpt from Baikar, although old, nevertheless is highly significant today, expressive of the colossal ignorance and the Communist prejudice which prevails among them in regard to the history of Russia:

"But when, pray tell us," asks a Ramgavar leader, "has Russia enjoyed such freedom? Can it be said that the peoples of Russia under the Tsarist despotism have ever enjoyed freedom of speech, of conviction, of expression, freedom to criticise or the freedom of protest against the government?" (Baikar, March 5, 1935).

This is the way the Communists and their fellow-travelers justify the Soviet tyranny. Whereas, it is an irrefutable fact of history that under the Tsarist rule, especially during the reign of the last Tsar, the peoples of Russia enjoyed infinitely more political, economic, social and spiritual freedoms than they do under the Soviet regime today. In the days of the Tsars there were countless organizations in Russia, independent of the Government and often opposed to it. Suffice it to cite the Federal Duma

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(the all-Russian Parliament) in which the Government was freely criticised by revolutionary organizations, including the Bolsheviks, while the most popular papers in the land were the opposition papers.

Can the same be said of today?

Furthermore, like the Communists, Ramgavar editors ignore the historic fact that the Bolsheviks overthrew not the Tsarist Government but the Democratic Government of Russia which had been emancipated from the Tsarist rule — Alexander Kerensky's Provisional Government which even by the admission of Lenin was the freest democracy in the world.

### The Ramgavar Youth Organ

The Armenian Mirror-Spectator, Ramgavar youth organ, like the senior paper Baikar, has zealously observed the anniversary of the Sovietization of Armenia. November 29, the day of Armenia's enslavement has been celebrated by this paper with passionate pro-soviet editorials. Following is a sample of such editorials:

"Today Armenia stands erect, tall and proud, her head up and her creative genius dedicated to the reconstruction of her cities and industries and agriculture, equal among equals, a sister republic in the mighty empire of peoples — Soviet Union. Today, on her glorious twenty-fifth anniversary, we proudly rise and salute Soviet Armenia." (Editorial, November 30, 1946).

In these editorials which were repeated for years there is not one word of how the free and independent Republic of Armenia was overthrown by the combined Turco-Soviet forces. Not one word about the absence of any kind of freedom in Armenia today, and how the country is under the complete domination of Moscow.

In March of 1946 Winston Churchill delivered a speech in Fulton, Mo., in the presence of President Truman. Mirror-Spectator commented on this speech editorially in its issue of March 16.

This speech, as the reader will recall, was

the first authoritative address after the world war which caused a sensation throughout the world by its warning about the Soviet world conspiracy. It was here that Churchill coined the expressions "Iron curtain" and "cold war" in characterizing the Soviet's new type of warfare against her erstwhile allies. Naturally, Churchill's speech drew a fierce reaction in leading Soviet circles of Moscow and the fifth columns of abroad. Mirror-Spectator was among those who were indignant and wrote in this connection editorially:

"Winston Churchill is starting at the end where Hitler left off at the beginning of the Second World War. He is starting to resurrect and build up the notorious anti-Comintern Axis against the Soviet Union, a scheme which has been the pet dream of British imperialists from the Crimean War to Chamberlain and Churchill. . .

"In this address at Fulton, Mo., on March 5, Churchill made one of the most astounding and vituperative speeches of his career — in and out of public office — thereby condemning himself with his own utterances not as an 'astute', farsighted statesman,' but as a cheap bombastic politician who waxes eloquent while leaning against the strong pillar of atomic bomb and the combined moral and physical might of the United States. . .

"The man speaking at the Westminster College in Fulton, Mo., is the same Churchill who sanctioned Mussolini's rape of Ethiopia and defended Japan's aggressive policy in Manchuria while our Secretary Stimson was trying to block it; it was the same Churchill who defended Franco's gangster tactics in crushing the republican movement in Spain. . .

"In his speech he was openly advocating a holy 'Jihad' against Russia, thereby revealing his sinister motives that he is really interested in is not a strong working United Nations organization, but above and over

it an Anglo-American coalition to bring Russia to her knees. . ."

If the reader was unaware the preceding lines are taken from a Ramgavar paper he would think he was reading a Communist paper. Indeed, the expressed views in regard to Churchill's speech literally are a repetition of the ideas and views of Communist propagandists.

A few months later Mirror-Spectator wrote editorially:

"The latest hostility between the Soviet Union and the so-called 'democratic west' is being flamed into the open by the deliberate and diabolical campaign of calumny and lies launched by the reactionary elements in our country while our delegates are playing host to the members of the United Nations." (Mirror-Spectator, November 2, 1946).

It develops that, for the Ramgavar paper, the West is a "so-called democracy" and not a real democracy, and the instigators of the hostility between the West and the Soviet Union are not the Soviet imperialistic dictatorship and its fifth columnists but the "reactionary elements" of the United States! This is not different from the Soviet line.

In 1950 when the Bolsheviks started the war in Korea in order to conquer the southern half of that country, Mirror-Spectator expressed displeasure against the intervention of the United States:

"The Japanese overran Manchuria and we retreated. Hitler moved into the Rhineland, Mussolini ravaged Ethiopia. Still we hesitated. And when together the Axis partners bloodied the fields of Spain, we stood majestically aloof." (Mirror-Spectator, July 8, 1950).

Obviously the Ramgavar paper is incensed that the United States intervened in Korea when they should have intervened in Manchuria, the Rhineland, Ethiopia and Spain.

No less striking is the silence of the Ramgavar paper about the Soviet. Not one word

of displeasure, to say nothing of criticism, of the Communists who really started the war in Korea and that the best means of stopping the Soviet aggression was the United Nations intervention.

During the trial of Remington in 1950, a Government official who had abused the facilities of his office and had carried on espionage in behalf of the Communists, Mirror-Spectator, scarcely hiding its sympathy toward this traitor, wrote in its sophisticated manner:

"For neither the indictment of Remington nor the issue of his guilt can justify the privileged slander of Senator McCarthy, his apparent contempt for judicial processes, or the hysteria he has so carefully nourished with irresponsible charges. The guilt or innocence of anyone — of Hiss, who was convicted; of Remington, who has been indicted; or of the countless others who have been unconscionably slandered, as though that were an end in itself — is hardly relevant. What is relevant is . . . whether we will ride to the witch hunt, armed with the formidable weapons of invective and unreason, frantically chasing specters."

It follows that Hiss and Remington and a host of other traitors have been unconscionably condemned by American courts! It follows that pursuing Communist agents and bringing them to trial is nothing but the result of hysteria or witch hunting.

In this connection equally significant is the Ramgavar paper's opinion of the trial of John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, which took place in July of 1951. And since this conviction had taken place incidentally after the arrest of the American reporter William Oatis in Czechoslovakia, Mirror-Spectator wrote on the occasion:

"This" (the arrest of William Oatis) was followed by the arrest and conviction of John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker, for agreeing to talk at some time in the future about overthrowing the government of the United States . . . Freedom of information

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is a right that belongs to all people. It is part of the social contract which has been most flagrantly violated by the totalitarian regimes of the world as attested by the actions against Paz and Oatis. But it is a creeping thing even at home, where it has received its first challenge since Peter Zender first wrote the truth."

The conclusion is, according to the Ramgavar paper, that the Communist John Gates, the editor of the Daily Worker, was convicted because he, as a Communist defended the truth and not because of his propaganda to overthrow the United States Government. This is no different than the sophistry of Communist papers.

#### Following The General Line

As was to be expected Ramgavar papers were sorely grieved when Stalin died. Commenting on the event, Mirror-Spectator in its editorial of March 14, 1953 said among other things:

"Can even the greatest enemies of the Soviet state deny that a great man has died? Joseph Stalin, the man who guided the destinies of more than 60 million persons in the world. . .

"The difficult part of writing about such a man is that too often from the position maintained in the press of the two worlds, on either side of the so-called Iron Curtain, it is to easy to paint the picture of Stalin in black and white."

After a brief general account of the West's criticism of the Soviet dictator, the Ramgavar obituary continues:

"And the other side of the Iron Curtain also recalls with a fanaticism of no pliancy whatsoever that here was a man who brought temperate thinking to political affairs, who built a ruined nation from the stems of a new economic policy, who has added territory not to Russia, but as part of the Communist ideal, who has brought a relative freedom which has never before been enjoyed by the peoples who comprise the Soviet Union, who has gloriously been

the champion of oppressed peoples everywhere. . .

"Freedom was restricted by the one revolutionary but this was purportedly in the interests of the perpetuation of the revolution. If some freedoms were taken which the West cannot understand, it is well to realize that many of these were later restored. Such was the case with the church which had political aspects removed from it and found itself actually closer to God when returned to its proper place. It's been an experiment, the greatest experiment in 2000 years. . ."

It is positively untrue, of course, that Stalin ever returned any freedom to the people. During the course of his dictatorship he even took away the limited freedoms which Lenin had left to the people and the Party. After the last war Stalin returned no freedoms to his people, instead he intensified his monstrous reign of terror. As to the church, he not only did not free it from political restrictions, but converted it into a tool of the Soviet-dictatorship. The church, under the Soviet control, did not serve God in the days of Stalin, but served the Soviet Satan, as it continues to do so now.

The Ramgavar editors should have understood this much for an obvious truth, but they have not understood, or are reluctant to understand it because they view things through Communist spectacles.

Last autumn a Congressional Committee investigating the Communist world conspiracy made an investigation of the Soviet takeover of Armenia. The result of this investigation — testimonies of Dro, Vardges Aharonian, Beglar Navassardian and the writer of these lines — were published in a pamphlet called Interim Report No. 8.

And what was the reaction of the Ramgavar papers to this report? First, to discredit the members of the Congressional Committee, especially its chairman Kersten, as McCarthyites and the product of their investigation as "McCarthyism." Second,



to deny the validity of the testimonies as false. This is what *Mirror-Spectator* wrote in this connection in its editorial of April 16, 1955:

"Testimony before a Congressional Committee doesn't automatically become the gospel truth. Men who have been lying and cheating all their lives would not let a Congressional Committee awe them into telling the truth."

It's interesting to note that the *Ramgavar* paper at no time has spoken so cynically about the testimonies of the Communists or Communist suspects but on the contrary has pleaded their case as seen from our previous quotations. The *Ramgavar* editors believed the word of the Hisses and the Remingtons, and even pleaded their case in their tortuous style. The *Ramgavar* editors for more than thirty years blindly trusted the word of notorious Armenian and non-Armenian Communist liars in regard to war-time and revolutionary events in Russia and Armenia but will not believe the word of the Dashnaks who under oath give the true story of the sovietization of Armenia before a Congressional Committee.

Needless to say, it is not the love of the truth which speaks in *Ramgavar* editors but their blind sympathy and conformity to "the Bolshevik Revolution" and the celebrated "spark" which, even by the admission of Baikar, the so-called *Ramgavar* Party has espoused as its political credo.

In vain will you search the pages of the *Ramgavar* papers for a single word of condemnation of the Soviet tyranny. The most they have done is a lame tap on the wrist, such as *Mirror-Spectator's* comment of July 30, 1949:

"The consequences of Communism are almost universally understood. The examples have been before us for a long time."

These timorous lines are followed by a justification of "the consequences" of Communism: "First let us look at the Armenian Communists. They are just that, Commu-

nists whose prime concern is the extension of that regime. They profess a burning love for their country, yet if that regime expired tomorrow they would take the same track as has been traveled by another group of Armenians, the national socialists." (*Mirror-Spectator*, August 8, 1953).

The last reference obviously is aimed at the Dashnaks. But the *Ramgavar* paper discreetly passes over the behavior of the *Ramgavar* Party in an analogous situation, since, if the future conduct of the Communists is but a theory, the conduct of the *Ramgavars* is a historic fact in regard both to the past and the present.

It was the *Ramgavars* who, during the period of the Independent Republic, took a hostile stand against the national Dashnak Government, freely elected by the people of Armenia, although they were perfectly free to operate and even were invited to join the Government. But when the Independent Republic was overthrown the *Ramgavar* press took up its "sycophantic praise" of the destroyers of Armenia's independence. Thus, it is not the Dashnaks whose affection for Armenia is under question because they oppose the Soviet regime, but it is the so-called *Ramgavar* Party whose affection for Armenia is conditioned by the present regime in Armenia.

During the last World War "*Hairenik*" in one of its editorials stated, that "Fortunately, the Soviet Union with its Red Army is not powerful enough to defeat Germany singlehanded. Were this so, she could occupy the whole of Europe which would be a great calamity for mankind." We expressed this view at that time knowing full well the nature and the aims of the Soviet Government, foreseeing the terrible danger of the Soviet's inordinate strengthening to the world peace.

The *Ramgavar* Baikar for years excoriated this statement in countless editorials and articles, deriding and abusing us for the word "fortunately." Manifestly, the *Ram-*

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gavar papers would have been happy if the Soviet Red Army was strong enough to occupy the whole of Europe.

Curiously enough, during the past few years Baikar no longer deems it advisable to remind us of that "fortunately" which it twisted and tortured for years so persistently.

One of the most disastrous acts of the Ramgavars, so damaging to the Armenian people and so subservient to the interests of the Communists, practiced during the past years and continued to this day, is unfortunately the poisoning of the minds of their young generation, filling with them hatred of the anti-Communist Dashnaks, and rearing them in a pro-Soviet atmosphere in which they consort with the Armenian Communists who operate under the false and misleading names of "Progressives", "Hocs" and Hunchaks.

This deadly infection, unhappily, is so great that the Ramgavar youth organ, Mirror-Spectator, is more vitriolic and more incontinent in its language against the Dashnaks than even their seniors, the result being that the young editors and their followers are in fact themselves closer to the "Progressives" or Communists spiritually and ideologically than even the Ramgavar old generation. Needless to say, no kind of self-extenuation or sophistry will ever efface the heavy responsibility and the unpardonable crime which they have committed against the cause of Armenia's emancipation in developing a young generation which is more fanatical, more hateful of the anti-communist Dashnaks, and more sympathetic to the Communist line than themselves as their inheritors.

### Conclusion

If the Ramgavars and their papers in America today are under suspicion they have themselves and only themselves to blame. There was no need of the "information" of others to tear off their mask.

Their past conduct, their papers, there literature which they cannot efface, and their notorious consorting with the Communists is enough to condemn them.

Instead of looking at their record which clearly reflects their sins, the Ramgavars in vain try to justify themselves by relying on the antics of infamous champions of their cause, denying the truth by false declarations and by offering proof which is contrary to the truth.

To win sympathy for themselves in the face of heavy charges the Ramgavars resort to their customary demagogic methods. First, they accuse us of smearing the entire non-Dashnak Armenian element as Communists before the world. Second, they accuse us of smearing all the non-Dashnak churches of America as likewise Communists, involving their entire following. Third, as if we Dashnaks have nothing else to do but inform on Ramgavars, thus putting the entire Armenian community of America under political suspicion.

The truth is, we accuse not the Ramgavar followers or, generally speaking, that mass of followers who have been misled by their pro-Soviet policies, but we accuse *only* the Ramgavar leaders, their editors, and those responsible individuals who consort with open and disguised Communists, namely, those individuals who plead the cause of the Ramgavars who for the past thirty or more years have harnessed their organization to the Soviet chariot, and have caused infinitely more harm to the Armenian communities of the world than outright Communist agents and the "Progressives" and the Hunchaks could possibly have inflicted, for the simple reason that they are more affluent and "respectable" than the Communists.

As to the followers of the anti-Dashnak Armenian churches of America, we have never said that they all are Communists. We have only blamed the lay and ecclesiastical leaders who head these churches and

who, knowing the while that the Holy See of Etchmiadzin is a captive of the Soviet Government, carry out its instructions and thus control the anti-Dashnak churches. According to the logic of Ramgavar editors, as long as Etchmiadzin does not send any Communist directives the Armenian churches of abroad are not under Soviet control. This line of reasoning ignores the fact that the Armenian Catholicos has been forced to join the phoney "Peace Congresses" sponsored by the Soviet, that the Holy See's official organ, *Etchmiadzin*, has published anti-Dashnak and anti-Catholic articles, and that, lastly, there is the Damoclean sword perpetually hanging over the heads of Armenian churchmen, the threat of defrocking all those whose attitude is not friendly to the Soviet Government.

And lastly, one word more about the hideous and lying charge that we Dashnaks, by our informings and slanders, have discredited the Ramgavars in the eyes of the general public. This charge is all the more amazing when we consider that it is advanced by the very same Ramgavars who for long years left no stone unturned to discredit the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Armenian Relief Society and the Armenian Youth Federation of America before the American authorities, trying to force them to close up our papers and dissolve our organizations as Nazi collaborators.

It is these same Ramgavar gentlemen who have busied themselves to this day informing upon us and slandering us, and who now have become panicky and cry out "slander" and "treason" when they realize that their past policy of following the Communist line stands before them like a grim specter. The incorrigible informers and slanderers of years are now belching fire and brimstone because we do not permit them to cover up their treasonable traces and the unholy tie they have maintained

with the Communists under the guise of Armenian patriotism.

From the viewpoint of the free world, the United States in particular, the important thing is not what motives or considerations have driven the so-called Ramgavar "Liberal" Party to follow the Soviet line or to defend the Soviet tyranny. Whether it is for the love of Armenia or to support the world revolution, it makes no difference to the free world or the United States. The important thing for the United States is that the Ramgavars in this country and abroad have aligned themselves with the Communists, have supported the Communist cause by their pro-soviet propaganda, have made it easier for the Communists to infiltrate Armenian organizations of the world, and through their collaboration with them have converted a pitiful negligible element into a veritable scourge to the Armenian people.

True, the Ramgavars have not altogether appropriated the Communist ideology or their dialectics. But it is equally true that with the cooperation and the support of the Ramgavars the Communists would never have been able to play an important if not a fateful role in any of Armenian compatriotic unions. On the other hand, through the collaboration of the Ramgavars, the Communists took over a number of our Compatriotics which they converted into a powerful weapon to divide and distrust the Armenian communities.

True, the Ramgavars are church loving Armenian Christians. But it is equally true that the Ramgavars formed a united front with anti-religious and atheistic Communists, to expel from the Armenian Church the anti-Communist Dashnaks who are the defenders of the Armenian Church, and thus, divided the Armenian Church in America. There can be no doubt that, without forming a united front with the Ramgavars, the Communists would never have succeeded in infiltrating our churches, and proven



atheists as they are, to become members of church boards of trustees and representatives of Annual Church Assemblies. No matter to what extent the Holy See of Etchmiadzin has become the captive of Soviet tyranny in this sordid business, without the cooperation of the Ramgavars the Communist would surely have failed to divide and disrupt the Armenian Church in America.

The Ramgavars cannot deny that, in the Middle East, in all Armenian national affairs, as well as in the parliamentary elections in these countries, the Ramgavars have always sided with the Communists, have always formed a united front with them, and have always opposed the anti-Communist Dashnaks.

Can it be contended that they have done this for "the love of Armenia?" Is it not significant that not only in the United States but in all Armenian communities of the world Ramgavar papers for the past thirty or more years were flooded with not anti-Communist, but anti-Dashnak editorials, articles and news items?

Reading this literature, can it be contended that the readers could fail to receive following impressions: 1. That today the greatest evil in the world is not Communism but the Armenian Revolutionary Federation? 2.

That the Armenian people have no other business today than the destruction of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation? 3. That to fight against the Dashnaks all means are permissible? And 4. That all Armenians factions, together with the Communists, must consider it their supreme duty to destroy the Armenian Revolutionary Federation?

In the present situation it would be infinitely more honest, confidence-inspiring and honorable for the Ramgavar leaders to admit publicly their past errors and try to correct their policy by immediately severing their ties with the Armenian Communists who call themselves "Progressives" or Hunchaks, by pulling out of the Soviet front which calls itself The Armenian National Council of America, cease considering the Soviet regime as a "boon" or the "salvation" of Armenia, and lastly, by admitting that the evil which menaces the Armenian people is not the Armenian Revolutionary Federation but Communism which strives for the world revolution or the Soviet tyranny which strives to subjugate the whole world.

Only such an about face will enable the Ramgavar Party to tear away the thick wall of suspicion which surrounds them and to clear their name before the American public.



# THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET MUSIC AND THE ARMENIAN COMPOSER

EDWARD ALEXANDER

It is barely a century ago that Russian music burst upon the world through the activity of a group of composers known as The Five.<sup>1</sup> At that time 'nationalism' took on musical significance to give Russian folk music intellectual status.

Today the old Russia is, of course, no more. 'Nationalism' has become a controversial and even dangerous issue. And in place of the leadership of The Five, it is more fitting to speak of the dictate of the Union of Soviet Composers.

In fact, until the death of Prokofiev two years ago, it would not have been incorrect to speak of the prominence in Soviet music of The Three, Shostakovich and Khatchaturian completing the trinity.

Thirteenth in population, Armenia nevertheless ranks high among the republics of the Soviet Union in cultural achievement. Her most famous contemporary artist is Aram Khatchaturian. His is a music that is melodious, effervescent and evocative of his native soil. Whether it is profound, vital and meaningful, whether it will leave an enduring imprint on musical culture — these are questions to which answers do not come so readily to mind. This is so not because of shortcomings on the part of this irrepressible Armenian talent. On the contrary, his almost incredible success

bespeaks an artist of invincible spirit.

For the fact is that Khatchaturian has created his body of work not because of the Soviet regime but in spite of it. He has these many years, along with his two famous confreres, fought a desperate battle for the integrity of the artist. The battleground is scarred, with new wounds inflicted each day. These lonely men have suffered the indignity of innumerable reprimands from those to whom art is second to politics. And, as his colleagues have had to do, Khatchaturian, confronted by charges that he is writing in a style described variously as 'western, formalistic, bourgeois, decadent,' has publicly recanted and pledged himself to corrective measures.

The Soviet composer, unlike his counterpart in the other arts, works in a purely abstract medium. That the charges against him are incessant and so bitter is evidence of his unrelenting struggle against the intellectual restraints of the total state — a state which apparently has no compunctions about involving itself in the most ethereal of the arts. In consequence, musical thought in the Soviet Union today is in a near state of paralysis. Very often that which was acceptable yesterday is denounced today. Even awards and prizes are re-

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mr. Edward Alexander is the Chief, Armenian Service, Voice of America.

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<sup>1</sup> Balakirev, Cui, Borodin, Moussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakoff.

called in the event of a reversal of opinion.<sup>2</sup>

This alarming situation has its roots in significant developments in music after the Second World War. In the immediate post-war years, the second most powerful man in the Soviet Union seemingly was Andrei Zhdanov. Theoretician and intellectual, even if in a Marxist context, Zhdanov held particular sway over Soviet culture. His adventures in foreign policy did not meet with success, but his pronouncements on the arts have remained to plague the rising generation of artists.

The Zhdanov decree on music was contained in a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in February 1948. It concerned an opera entitled *The Great Friendship* by the Georgian composer Muradeli, and took him and his music severely to task. The resolution urged closer identity between the Soviet composer and his audience, and delineated, if not too articulately, what was expected of him: how he was to seek inspiration in his immediate environment, in the achievements of the Soviet regime, in a phrase — 'in socialist reality.' In other words, the composer was to discard the experimental, the cerebral, the objective — all offshoots of the 'bourgeois west' — and replace them with the classical, the simple and the subjective.

It is certainly true that our century has been one of experiment in the arts, especially music. Debussy's whole tones, Haba's quarter tones, Schoenberg's twelve tones, Scriabin's theosophic excursions into color, innovations in tonality and harmonic systems, musical montage — all of these attest the artist's inventiveness in seeking to carry musical art beyond the consummation of one thousand years of evolution.

<sup>2</sup> On March 15, 1951, the opera *From The Depths of the Heart* was awarded the Stalin Prize. Two months later the Council of Ministers revoked the prize and all officials connected with the opera's production were denounced.

But none of these explorations has been regressive. Every idea has been fired with rich imagination, permeated by emotional and intellectual complexity. The Zhdanov decree, however, virtually shackled creative artistic instinct. In ruthless manner, the Communist Party expunged ten centuries of musical achievement and arrogated to itself the right to dictate not only musical method and content but taste as well. Zhdanov had thus set the stage.

Two months later the Union of Soviet Composers held its first Congress. The castigated Muradeli, it emerged, has been only the initial sacrificial victim. He was joined promptly by Prokoviev, Shostakovitch and Khatchaturian. Their work was called 'alien to the tradition of classical Russian music'; Khatchaturian was branded a 'formalist'; Soviet music, it was suggested, 'should embody the heroic soul of the Soviet people — ardent fighters for communism'; Soviet music should have a 'Party character.'

In the whole of the history of man there is no precedent for these dicta. Even in the time of Joseph Goebbels music had not suffered such evisceration.<sup>3</sup>

For Prokoviev this must have been the supreme irony. Having lived his most productive years in the West, nourished at the fountainheads of western culture, he had returned to his homeland in 1934. Since then, with the possible exception of his cantata *Alexander Nevsky*, whose motivations were historical and patriotic, he, the greatest of The Three, had produced nothing to match the fire and brilliance of his pre-Soviet years. On his return, Prokoviev had remarked of a Shostakovitch work: 'What astonishes me is that so young a composer should be so very much on his guard. He never takes a single risk.' The exercise

<sup>3</sup> Although Hindemith, for instance, was expelled from the Third Reich as a 'Kulturbolschewist' his music was never subject to party control.

of such caution soon became a characteristic of Prokoviev himself. Three years after the stinging rebukes of the Composers' Congress, he was again subjected to severe criticism for emphasizing art instead of ideology, whereupon the one-time *enfant terrible* of London and Paris announced he was working on two compositions dedicated to the 'creative joy of the Soviet worker.' His mind enchained, Prokoviev was to live only two more years, stricken in 1953 by cerebral hemorrhage.

Perhaps no composer in the Soviet Union has been on the receiving end of such a rich variety of epithets as Shostakovitch. <sup>4</sup> He has been described in various Soviet organs as a composer of 'expressionist hysteria,' 'strident pessimism' and 'homeless cosmopolitanism.' In 1951, in speaking of one of his newly-performed works the government newspaper 'Izvestia' referred to the composer's 'significant retreat from his previous realistic position.' <sup>5</sup> That position is, of course, what is most succinctly described as 'music for the masses.' Just as the line of communication between the Communist Party and the people had to be undeviating and clear, the composer was to devise music of such a character as to be comprehensible at first audition. If successful, music could serve the same political purpose as agitation and propaganda, even while it was providing intellectual refreshment albeit on a low aesthetic level. He who departed from this

line would read of his transgression in the press. It mattered not that he might have expended time, energy and all his talent in an honest effort to please ideological sentinels. The composer's efforts were suspect pending the decision not, as in the west, of competent music critics, but musico-political watchdogs from the Central Committee of the Communist Party. <sup>6</sup>

No less a victim of the impulsive whims of party officials is the ebullient Aram Khatchaturian. An individual composer known the world over, he is looked up to by the younger Armenian composers as the leader of their generation. It was in this capacity that he felt all the more the blows of the 1948 All-Union Congress. For on that occasion not only he but Soviet Armenian music itself was singled out for special criticism. 'Armenian composers,' it was charged, 'are carried away by historical subjects and pay little attention to Soviet life. They are out of touch with the popular and national. They complicate musical language.' And of course there was the major charge, of which Khatchaturian was the arch-sinner: Armenian composers were guilty of a formalist trend.

The creator of several lively ballet suites, <sup>7</sup> chamber works, film scores, symphonies, choral works, and a violin and a piano concerto each of which is almost standard repertoire everywhere, Khatchaturian has had to endure unlimited reprimands for many of these works. Given free rein what might Khatchaturian, Shostakovitch, Muradeli, Stepanian and the lesser lights of Soviet music not produce? This troublesome question must have caused Khatchaturian particular unrest. For in the year 1953, ironically the year of Prokoviev's death, but more pointedly of Stalin's, a curious thing took place.

<sup>6</sup>. Shostakovitch's Fourth Symphony was given one rehearsal and relegated to oblivion.

<sup>7</sup>. Former residents of Armenia who have heard his ballet 'Happiness' claim it to be the equal of 'Gayane.'

<sup>4</sup>. The first time was in 1936 when his opera *Lady Macbeth of Mzensk* was denounced by 'Pravda' as 'non-political and full of nonsensical sounds,' despite the fact that for two years it had already enjoyed success not only in Europe but in the U. S. S. R. attesting the receptivity and maturity of the Soviet musical public.

<sup>5</sup>. Shostakovitch has never equalled the brilliance, economy and freshness of idiom of his First Symphony, written at the age of 19 before the Communist Party arrested his mind.

In a scholarly musical publication of the Soviet Union, an article appeared under the name of Aram Khatchaturian entitled 'On Creative Boldness.' In the western world articles such as this appear almost every month and cause not the slightest flurry. But in a country ruled by the totalitarian concept this was sheer heresy. But was it? Unlike western practice, provocative articles do not appear anywhere in the Soviet Union without the explicit approval of the party. In this particular case, there is every reason to believe that, in fact, the party initiated it.

The death of Stalin was meant by the Kremlin to be interpreted as the end of extreme dictatorship under which the peoples of the Soviet Union had suffered for three decades. The new triumvirate — Malenkov, Molotov, Beria — already promised an easing of the heavy burdens of the past. If there was not a new spirit of relaxation in the air, the Kremlin wished at any rate to suggest an improvement in conditions. And so in music the honor fell to Khatchaturian.<sup>8</sup>

He got right down to the heart of the matter. 'The time has come,' Khatchaturian wrote, 'to revise our established system of institutional control of composers. Let the artist be trusted more fully and he will, with even greater responsibility and freedom, approach the solution of the creative problems of our time.' The works of Soviet composers, Khatchaturian continued, 'should be provocative and bold in approach, disturbing and exciting, not just replete with peace and harmony.' He bluntly attacked 'interference by government music officials with the work of composers.' And then came a sentence which, more than any other in recent times, opened a small window on contemporary Soviet life: 'Works of art cannot be written with creative elan, while one glances over his should-

er, expressing the fear that something untoward might happen.'<sup>9</sup> Whether original with him or contrived by another, these stirring phrases reflected a genuine protest against a system of control that left the artist terrified of the omnipresent shadow behind him. But there was a clue within the article, subtle perhaps, but one which gave the show away. Khatchaturian quietly inserted a line of homage to Zhdanov!

An article of protest against a type of thought control first formalized by Zhdanov which includes at the same time a solicitous reference to that same Kremlin saint is surely obeisance of ulterior purpose. The reaction of the Soviet public to this and other articles of like character is not known. If some sense of relaxation and change was inspired, however, it was short-lived.

In due time, the party critics were back at their old game, and it seemed as though Khatchaturian had never written such an article, that Stalin had not died, indeed, as though nothing had actually changed in the U. S. S. R. And in truth, nothing had, for a few months later the Moscow magazine 'News' published an article by Khatchaturian recanting his previous position.<sup>10</sup>

Since that time there have certainly been no changes in Soviet music. The ideological approach to composition is still the basis for musical creativity. Recent complaints in the press of Soviet Armenia reveal a degree of petrification in musical composition about which more is certain to be heard later this year when, as Moscow announced in May, the second All-Union Congress of Soviet Composers is convened. In preparation for this Congress, the Union of Soviet Armenian Composers held their 9th Plenum in Erivan earlier this year. The observations of the Plenum were summed up in an article as follows: 'Since 1940, there has

<sup>9</sup>. 'Sovetskaya Muzika' — November, 1953.

<sup>10</sup>. A more official admonition against deviation from the party line appeared in 'Znamya' and 'Literaturnaya Gazeta.'

<sup>8</sup>. Similar articles appeared on literature, drama and films



not been created in Armenia a single opera, a single ballet or a single symphony which satisfies the current standards of symphonic music.<sup>11</sup>

In examining in detail the business of the Armenian Composers' Plenum it becomes evident that the decrees of the Congress of 1948 are as valid today as when Zhdanov first formalized them, and also that under such severe restrictions, the imaginative and prolific Armenian composer is approaching a point of sterility which may in time prove to be the demise of Armenian music.

The major complaint against the Armenian composer appears to be that he is not inspired by the 'great achievements of Soviet economy and the heroic labor of industrial and agricultural workers.' On the contrary, it seems Armenian composers have a romantic streak for they are accused of finding inspiration in fairy tales. Not limiting the scope of the charges to the members of the Composers Union, the Plenum hurls a few barbs at the Armenian Ministry of Culture and the Union of Armenian Writers for not supplying texts for operas and ballets on contemporary life. An instance of the difficulties in this field is supplied by the example of composer G. Khatchaturian and librettist H. Muradian who, because of serious differences of opinion have not for the second year been able to complete their opera 'Khatchatur Abovian.' The same situation holds true of V. Vartanian and G. Eghiazarian with their ballet 'Sevan.'

With reference to musical comedy there seems to be disjointedness in the handling of the continuity. The music does not portray the action of the story, as for example in V. Dikranian's 'Big Wedding.'

Passing on to the composition of symphonies the Plenum heard that no serious composer can be judged until he has written in this genre. 'The heroic life of the

Soviet man must be reflected in this form which allows such latitude' (sic). We learn, in consequence, that G. Eghiazarian and A. Harutyunian are working on symphonies which have already been delayed many years, while the new symphony of H. Stepanian was subjected to severe criticism by the Composers Union. Completed symphonies are given one or two performances and then disappear from the repertoire.

In choral music there is a shortage of cantatas. With the exception of A. Harutyunian's 'On The Fatherland,' all other works are 'either boring or too difficult to perform.' On the occasion of Michael Nalbandian's 125th anniversary, which was given enormous attention by the Armenian authorities, three choral works were written of which not one was deemed worthy of performance.

All Armenian composers were called upon to write songs because, as it was made clear, songs help in work and thus occupy an important place in the music of the republic. At present, there is a dearth of good songs for children and songs that reflect 'heroic Soviet life.'

As a consequence of this rather dismal picture painted by Soviet musical experts themselves, Erivan radio programs are uninteresting and concerts are poorly attended.

That there is some musical activity on a lesser scale is indicated by the performance of some more recent works by Armenian composers: A. Papajanian's Piano Concerto, Piano Trio and 'Heroic Ballad,' Eghiazarian's Symphonic Poem 'Hayasdan' and Ballet Suites, Ashod Satian's 'Songs of the Ararat Plain,' E. Mirzoyan's Dance Suite and E. Hovhannesian's 'Place To The World.'<sup>12</sup> The truth is, unfortunately, that as little is known of the genuine quality of these 'ap-

<sup>12</sup> Other Soviet Armenian composers: A. Ter-Ghevondian, G. Zakarian, A. Kocharian, M. Mirzozian, E. Abrahamian, V. Kodoyan, E. Bagdasarian and A. Khohtoyan.

<sup>11</sup> 'Sovyetakan Hayastan' — April 19, 1955.

proved' works as those that have been denounced and banned.<sup>13</sup>

Concerning the performance of new music in Armenia, it would not be difficult to agree with Soviet critics who complain that the concert halls resound with music 'that was written long ago.' The operas 'Anoush' and 'Almast' are national institutions performed with deadening regularity, while rare is the week that the Spendiarian Opera House of Erivan does not feature such war horses as 'The Barber of Seville' and 'Don Pasquale.' In view of the stringent demands in the field of opera, new works by Armenian composers are not being written, while the performance of new operas by European or American composers is nonexistent.

The same holds true of symphonic and chamber music.<sup>14</sup> Classical works are repeated ad infinitum while the prominent figures of this century are avoided. The sole exception is the work of The Three and other Soviet composers — those compositions, that is, which survive the ideological scrutiny of the censor. The priority given to this music for propaganda exploitation abroad is witnessed in the following brief case history.

On December 17, 1953 the Tenth Symphony of Shostakovich had its world premiere in Leningrad. It was given full blessing and described as the expression of the 'peace-loving humanistic people of the world who are waging an incessant war against the dark forces which preach tyranny and slavery.' Meeting with this success it was to be expected that this symphony would be performed in all the cul-

tural centers of the Soviet Union. This did not materialize, however, and the next major performance of the new symphony took place in New York on October 14, 1954. Even though the notices of the New York critics were mixed and generally unfavorable, the Soviet authorities could not have wished a greater windfall. Not only was the work of the foremost star in the Soviet musical firmament the center of discussion among the 'dark forces preaching tyranny and slavery,' but in January the New York Music Critics' Circle voted the Tenth Symphony the best work introduced in New York the previous year.<sup>15</sup>

Having thus been exported to the new world where it won acclaim, the symphony was only then made accessible to the 'peace-loving humanistic people' who had allegedly inspired its composition. The Tenth Symphony of Shostakovich finally reached Armenia where it was performed in Erivan on April 13, 1955 — six months after New York and sixteen months after its premiere in Leningrad.

His creative instincts stunted by disciplinary political canons, the composer in the Soviet Union today is confronted by a bleak and inflexible future. Can a change then be expected in the course of Soviet music?

Study of the Soviet past would indicate no basic change, at least in the foreseeable future. The basis for musical composition today in the USSR remains Marxist. Music must have dynamic social significance; it must find its origins in the experience of the masses as it must also supply them with experience — give them direction, inspire determination; it must be uncomplicated intellectually, emotionally and technically.

The imposition of such conditions cannot

<sup>13</sup> Papajanian's 'Heroic Ballad,' available in a Soviet recording, is an uninspired piece, eclectic to the point of imitation. Yet it won the Stalin Prize in 1951.

<sup>14</sup> In the matter of performance the foremost chamber group in the entire Soviet Union is the Komitas String Quartet of Erivan. Winner of many prizes the Komitas Quartet has also been lauded in both western and eastern Europe where it has toured in recent years.

<sup>15</sup> In view of the restrained critical reception of the work, it must be concluded that the award was not so much a tribute to the Tenth Symphony as a commentary on the quality of music heard in 1954.

but result in cultural disaster. The Soviet Union which purports to speak and act always in the name of progress reveals in music, as it has in all other areas of human

activity, a strangulation of the creative impulse. Its consequence can only be music devoid of spirit, intellect and imagination — music that is the very antithesis of art.

## HUMANITY IN PROTEST

*With shoulders drooping, pallid in despair  
Languishing under the crushing weight  
Of worry, affliction, and care  
A frail man — a man of noble trait,  
Kneeling before a lofty Temple high —  
A shrine of Knowledge, Wisdom, and Light,  
This weary soul, with a deep sigh  
In stirring words described his plight.*

*"Venerable gentlemen! Men of sapience!  
I come to you from the Common Men  
They have suffered a lot — it has been immense.  
At the altar of Sacrifice, John, Mary, Ann  
Offered their offsprings to Victory's cause,  
In order to smite the foes diabolic  
Without a murmur — you might well suppose  
Jew, Protestant, and the Catholic.*

*Now comes a new heartbreak for John, Mary, and Tom —  
Haunted by black forebodings of future year,  
They dread your Invention — the atomic bomb,  
They have been tossed into the claws of Fear.  
How did your science outstrip your reason  
To conspire with elements against your own kind?  
You have begotten a Monster — it's a treason!  
What alchemy poisoned your sober mind?"*

K. G. AJEMIAN

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# THE HOP TOAD RACE

A FABLE

P. K. THOMAJAN

Jonah was his name. He was a sleepy-eyed toad and waddled around in the backyard of the Ellis family.

Johah looked like a big bag of wrinkles and very very old.

He was young Eddie's pet.

Eddie thought toads were the wisest of all animals and he had a lot of respect for them. He had learned in school how toads are nature's little helpers by eating up all kinds of bugs and insects that would eat up plants and flowers.

Whenever the boys in the neighborhood tried to throw stones at Johah, Eddie would tell them to stop. Of course, they just laughed at Eddie and went along, because he wore glasses and was skinny and pale.

During vacation time, the other boys were always taking part in races and contests. There were pushmobile races, kite flying contests, wrestling matches, cat shows and dog shows.

Once in a while, Eddie would enter one of these contests. Naturally, all the other boys teased him and laughed when he lost. Then they would tell him to go off and play games with the girls, where he might have more fun and less competition.

Mrs. Ellis watched at what was happening and would keep telling Eddie, "Son, the only time anyone can beat you is when you give up. One of these days you are going to surprise all these boys. It just takes a little brains and a little bee in your bonnet, which gives you a winning idea.

Then, Eddie went out into the garden and sat beside Johah, who looked at him

in the kindest way, as if he understood all his troubles.

Soon afterward, Eddie's chance came.

Harry Hill, leader of the boys in the neighborhood, decided to hold a Hop Toad Race. Just as a tease, he sent Eddie a special invitation to enter his toad.

When Eddie got this, he was so glad that he showed the note first to his mother and then to Jonah. Again his mother told him, "Just keep your eyes open and watching for that idea bee."

Eddie sat beside Johah and said, "Now, you must eat plenty of bugs and insects so that you will be strong — champions, you know, keep themselves in wonderful shape."

Good old Johah just blinked his big green eyes, as if he was saying "yes" — then made a few slow jumps.

That afternoon, Eddie went down by the brook to go swimming. There, he noticed how the bull frogs were jumping about. All the time there was buzzing around in his mind what his mother had told him to be on the look-out for.

"Gosh," he said to himself, "if I could only get some of that jump into Jonah, we'd win the race."

Then, in the afternoon, Eddie went on some errands for his mother. She had given him ten cents extra with which to buy a soda. While passing a store, he looked in the window and saw some Mexican jumping beans bouncing around.

This made him think of the bull frogs and Jonah — suddenly he had caught the bee. "That's it!" he exclaimed, "it's simple —

Jonah swallows a few of those jumping beans and bang . . . he gets the jump on all the other toads . . . and wins." Eddie bought some beans and hurried home.

The race was the next day. The morning of the race, Eddie went over to Jonah and said, "I know you want me to win The Hop Toad Race, and I will if you will help. Please shut your eyes and take these few pills and what's more — you'll feel fifty years younger."

Jonah did as he was told without making a single complaining croak.

That afternoon, all the boys gathered behind the schoolhouse with their pet toads. They snickered when they saw Eddie.

Said Harry Hill, "Glad you came, Eddie. I think you've got a good chance to win this race. To make it more interesting, we have made an entry fee of twenty-five cents. The toad that wins collects all the quarters, which will come to five dollars. OK with you?"

"OK," answered Eddie, as he gave Harry Hill his quarter.

The toads were all lined up at the starting line and the rules were that the toad which moved the farthest in five minutes would be the winner. Eddie whispered to Jonah, "Don't forget, you've got it in you to win. Now just let yourself go and feel that you're even better than a bullfrog."

The next second, the whistle blew and the toads were off . . . all twenty of them.

Right from the start, Jonah took the lead like a real champion. The other boys couldn't believe their eyes when they saw what was happening.

"Hey, what's this!" exclaimed Harry Hill to Eddie, "seems to me that you've got a

mechanical toad that you've wound up . . . how else could it make such quick jumps?"

Smiled Eddie, "That's my old hop toad trying to do his best for his old master. Besides, I'm a pretty good trainer and when you know how to talk to toads — they can do wonders."

Of course, Jonah came in first — to the surprise of everybody but Eddie. He felt rich when he pocketed the five dollars in quarters. Then he put Jonah in his box, tied it with blue ribbons, then turning to the scowling boys said, "Jonah and I thank you for the invitation."

As Eddie was merrily walking home, he said to himself, "I've been so very lucky and feel so happy, I wonder what I can do to make someone else happy?"

No sooner had he asked that question but it was answered. His mother needed a new electric iron and perhaps he had enough money to buy one. After going from store to store, Eddie was able to find one for exactly five dollars. He asked the man to wrap it up and send it to his mother with a gift card that read: "With love from Jonah and Eddie."

When Eddie got home, his mother hugged him saying, "You don't have to tell me the good news, I've heard all about it. I just knew you would win at last, in fact, this very morning a little bird told me that a bee had entered your bonnet."

"Well, perhaps, it did," replied Eddie, "but it wasn't exactly a bee. Mother, that's a secret between me and Jonah, who's promised never to tell. How about it, Jonah?" asked Eddie, as he let his pet out of the box.

Jonah just blinked his eyes and waddled off to his place in the sun.



THIS IS WHERE  
I CAME IN  
A VERSE

P. K. THOMAJAN

*Existence is a*

*continuous performance*

*.. a moving film ..*

*a phantom procession of*

*mirages and illusions*

*.. in the dark ..*

*we wander at random*

*into the theatre of life*

*.. caught between its*

*beginning and end ..*

*desperately we seek*

*to catch its fleeting*

*meaning .. then after*

*a brief interval the*

*fractured cycle repeats*

*.. and we wander out*

*in the dark wrapt in*

*bewildered enchantment.*

# LOVE AT ELEVEN

(OR I'M NO FOOL AFTER SCHOOL)

HARRY KOMOORIAN

Helen of Troy and Paris had an affair. It shook the hell out of Hellespont. Later Cleopatra and Mark Anthony got all tangled up — and the Roman Empire began to disintegrate and go the way of all empires. Josephine and Napoleon had their day — and nights. So what? I'll admit these romances left their mark on the history of mankind. They stand out like glowing towers, but personally, I wonder if they compare with the grand passion of a boy of eleven when he fell under the spell of his teacher:

If you can read this — you've been to school — at least to the fourth grade. I'm sure you can understand why I didn't do so well in school. A boy of eleven in the fourth grade is not a brilliant boy — but there was a method to my madness. I didn't want to leave this particular class. You wouldn't either if you had a teacher like the one I had.

Lovely isn't the word for it. Nothing in the form of a woman ever walked that could compare with this angel on earth. and when she walked, she was poetry in motion. Blue eyes, auburn hair, curved lips, like a Chinese camellia, complexion and form that would be the envy of any woman.

So you see why I couldn't keep my mind on education — that is — book knowledge. I wanted and needed knowledge — yes — but it was impossible — as far as I was concerned, to think about figures without somehow getting all involved. Long division — I would get half way through

it — and something like this would happen. My head would start to whirl, and the teacher would waltz through the open window — and I couldn't help but go sailing after her. It was a happy affair for me — chasing the teacher. It was such fun! My arithmetic suffered.

Staying after school was the usual punishment for that sort of daydreaming — until the teacher learned that staying after school was no punishment for me as long as she was there. In fact I liked it better than being in class. I had her all alone — all by myself — just like in my dreams — while doing long division — only this was real. Not that anything happened. All I wanted to do was just sit and look at her.

Boy, Oh, Boy! Did I adore her! Only that isn't the right word for it. Whatever it was — It was wonderful.

But soon she got around that — Because nearly all the male members of our class had to stay after school. That's how she affected the male population of our class. It was marvelous the way she looked at you with those limpid blue eyes — and when she did that your feet would leave the ground and you would whirl through space — chasing after her through the window.

All this romance between the teacher and an eleven year old boy and the rest of the male students of the fourth grade came to an abrupt stop. We all got back to school after the Christmas holiday — and hadn't quite made up our minds whether we were happy to be back or not — and then it

happened. Our world crumbled right down to the earth. Our teacher — out of a clear sky — for no rhyme nor reason — and without our knowledge or consent — had gone to Reno and married the football coach at the local high school.

We were sick! That is putting it mildly! Sick, — yes — but sore, too. There had never been any crime in my heart up until now. I had always faced the facts — and if the facts didn't suit me, I had banged the fellow that had fooled around with the facts. But this was different. I couldn't hit the teacher — that would be a sacrilege. But I had to hit someone — I had to hurt someone — I had to do something. Oh, if only I were bigger! If I were a man — I could go and get drunk — real soused — like Mr. Shook, our next-door neighbor.

It dawned on me like a flash — why not kill the man that had married my teacher and get him out of the way? Now, all my troubles were practically gone. All I had to do was to kill this man who had wronged me and all my pals. The more I thought of it, the more I was convinced that this was the proper course to pursue.

How to kill him was another matter. Just plain killing was too easy and too good for him. I wanted the man to suffer as I was suffering, and a fellow couldn't say how I was suffering. There are no words that can tell how an eleven year old boy suffers when the only woman he has ever loved besides his mother, is snatched away from him — just like that. Poison — that would make him suffer — And iodine was poison. I decided to put iodine in the man's drinking water. I would wait with the teacher after school — and when the villain came after his bride, I would offer him a drink.

The next day I got a bottle of iodine from our medicine cabinet and put it in my pocket. Things were dead in class all that day. No one did much — not even the teacher — but I was feverish — for my revenge was near.

For the first time I stayed after school without being asked. I had begun to waiver a little bit — as the faint hope came to me that she might change her mind. Surely belonging to her husband couldn't be half as much fun as belonging to the whole fourth grade. The time went along all too slow. The class let out. I went out with the rest of the students — then came back and stood by the door — not knowing what to do. The iodine bottle was in my pocket. The teacher saw me. I guess she knew I was in some sort of a jam by the way I was looking at her.

"Come in", she said. "I need your help". Funny, I needed help — She needed help. I knew we belonged together — We had always belonged together. Where she led I followed — That was why I was always chasing her. That was how I learned.

That was the light that attracted — she was the light. I didn't want to be lost. I loved life — In the light — Out in the sun — Out in the sun where she was. There was sunshine wherever she went. She was wonderful. I adored her.

All at once I didn't want to kill. I loved her — and loved everything that she loved. She could do no wrong.

She looked up at me and said "Do you think the class is happy — about my new name?" My heart began to pound out the lie. "How would I know?" I said. I knew she was pitching a curve and I wasn't going to take a cut at a curve ball — It broke wide and low. Then she pitched again. I watched the words leave her lips—It was like a slow ball — deliberate — with a lot of control — It arrived right over the plate — But she knew all the time what she was doing— I didn't swing. It was a called strike. Then she pitched again — a—nd I knew that the next two would be both strikes. She would never get behind in her pitching—She never had—So I was ready when she said:



"I thought — you'd do anything for me." How right she was. — and how it hurt to hear her say that. I relaxed my fingers from the bottle of iodine momentarily and then tightened my hold on the bottle like I was gripping the bat — and said.

"I could say the same for you." I could see I didn't connect with that one although I swung with all my might. Now it was two strikes, one ball — and she was winding up again — and I just simply couldn't miss the next pitch.

"Why wasn't the class happy today?" she said. I took a healthy cut at that one —

"Because you got married," I said.

"Why do you think I got married?", she said.

"Because I give you too much trouble," I said.

Her lovely blue eyes filled up at once — and drops of dew trickled from the inner corners of her eyes! She held out her arms — I went to her like a flash — She

was soft to the touch — like my mother — but in a different, some other wonderful way.

"I need you," she said. "You, and each one of you — We need a referee, too — and he's the coach at the high school — and I thought it would be nice to have a referee in the family — So I married him. See? — He belongs to us — We belong to him — We are all one family — We belong together — Think of all the ball games he will referee here at school."

"We need this, too", I said, and held out the bottle of iodine to her. "But don't give it to him the way I was going to give it to him — Someone may get hurt in the ball game and this will come in handy."

She smiled. I was happy again. We walked out of the room with my hand in hers, and in our minds he was there, too. But now I didn't mind him being there because we were one and the same person at a different age!

*Written on Christmas Day,  
1942, at the Carmel U. S. O.  
for a Victory Girl as I  
knew her then.*

### “MONA”

*You're the belle of the regiment;  
You're the melody on every soldier's mind.  
Oh, how the boys whistle in the service  
When they think they can wine and dine and be with you.  
But the payoff is no one really gets a chance  
Except — in something like a simple U S O romance.  
You know all the angles for defense;  
You know how to retreat as well as advance.  
More power to you, Mona — My lovely Victory Girl —  
Keep 'em guessing — happy —  
Keep 'em in a whirl!*

HARRY KOMOORIAN

## II. The Right to Know and the Right to Talk under International Law<sup>1</sup>

DR. GEORGE P. RICE, JR.

*"The increase of popular control over national conduct, which marks the political development of our time, makes it constantly more important that the great body of the people in each country should have a just conception of their international rights and duties. . . ."*

— ELIHU ROOT<sup>2</sup>

### I

#### *Philosophic Approach to the Problem.*

It seems wise to presume that local (national) courts should abide by the rules of International Law as a matter of regular procedure wherever possible. Serious conflict between international and municipal law is good ground for reflection, granted. To work constantly to synchronize the two systems of law will represent a victory for the monistic over the dualistic theory of the origin and application of the law of nations. Obviously, if states are to move toward a really effective system of international law, unnecessary divisions must be eliminated. Lauterpacht, in discussing the monistic theory and its advantages, writes: "It denies . . . that the subjects of the two systems of law are essentially different and maintains that in both it is ultimately the conduct of individuals which is regulated

by law, the only difference being that in the international sphere the consequences of such conduct are attributed to the State. Secondly, it asserts that in both spheres law is essentially a command binding upon the subjects of the law independently of their will. Thirdly, it maintains that International Law and Municipal Law, far from being essentially different, must be regarded as manifestations of a single concept of law."<sup>3</sup> The same authority admits that municipal courts may be bound by the law of their states to enforce statutes which are contrary to International Law, but he points out that this is partly because of the weakness of International Law and organization, that there is actually conflict of laws here and that from the point of view of International Law, the validity of a pronouncement of a municipal court is

<sup>1</sup> This is the second in a series of four articles dealing with human rights under international law and the whole is subordinate to the general theme of civil and political liberty discussed in THE REVIEW the past two years.

<sup>2</sup> E. Root, "The Need for a Popular Understanding of International Law," 1 AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1, 3, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> H. Lauterpacht, ed., OPPENHEIM, INTERNATIONAL LAW, I. Sec. 20, New York, 1947.

in such cases purely provisional.<sup>4</sup>

There is high and responsible judicial expression of the acceptance of the law of nations as part of the municipal law of individual countries. The Latin oration of Queen Elizabeth I in 1597 referred to the Law of Nations.<sup>5</sup> In 1735 Lord Talbot in *Barbuits Case* observed: "... the law of Nations, in its full extent, was part of the law of England."<sup>6</sup> Lord Mansfield, in *Triquet and Others v. Bath*, declared: "There was no doubt but that the law of nations, particularly that concerning public ministers, was part of the law of England."<sup>7</sup> American jurists made clear their acceptance of the law of nations very early. Chief Justice Jay of the United States Supreme Court in *Chisholm v. Georgia* in 1793 said: "... the United States had, by taking a place among the nations of the earth, become amenable to the law of nations."<sup>8</sup> Two years later Justice Iredell in *Penhallow v. Doane's Executors* announced: "A prize court is, in effect, a court of all the nations in the world. . . ."<sup>9</sup> Again in 1900 the doctrine received expression from an American jurist, Justice Gray, in *The Paquete Habana*: "International law is part of our law. . . ."<sup>10</sup> The cases cited are typical of judicial pronouncements in England and America on the theoretical and practical incorporation of International Law into municipal.

The classical definition of International Law by Hackworth as "... a body of rules governing the relations between states. . ." will in time be revised if the jurisdiction of that law is to be expanded.<sup>11</sup> His defi-

nition is much closer to the earlier perspective of Vattel in *Droit des Gens* which appeared in 1758: "The Law of Nations in the law of sovereigns. It is for them especially and for their ministers that a treatise should be written."<sup>12</sup> The limitations of such understanding of the term are obvious.

## II

### *The Relevant Articles of the International Declaration of Human Rights.*

Three articles of the Declaration are especially relevant to the topic of free communication under International Law.<sup>13</sup>

The International Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948, set forth a preamble of aims and purposes: "The General Assembly Proclaims this universal declaration of human rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction."

The particular Articles which form the basis of inquiry for this paper are:

Art. 18. "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance."

Art. 19. "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> G. P. Rice, Jr., *SPEECHES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH*, New York, 1951, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> *Barbuit's Case*, Cas. t., Talbot, 280, (1735).

<sup>7</sup> *Triquet and Others v. Bath*, K. B., 3 Burr. 1478, (1764).

<sup>8</sup> *Chisholm v. Georgia*, 2 Dall. 419, (1793.)

<sup>9</sup> *Penhallow v. Doane's Executors*, 3 Dall. 54, 91, (1795).

<sup>10</sup> *The Paquete Habana*, 175 U. S. 677, (1900).

<sup>11</sup> W. Hackworth, *DIGEST OF INTERNATIONAL LAW*, Washington, 1940, I. 1.

<sup>12</sup> E. Vattel, *DROIT DES GENS*, Neuchatel, 1758, Preface, p. 12 a/.

<sup>13</sup> W. Bishop, Jr., *INTERNATIONAL LAW*, New York, 1953, pp. 209-11.

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includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Art. 20. "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association." (1). "No one may be compelled to belong to an association." (2).

*Statement of the Problem.* The legal problems connected with freedom of information and communication among the United Nations are many. A clear summary of their nature, in general rather than specific terms, is provided by Professor Z. Chafee, Jr., of Harvard:<sup>14</sup>

1. The need for an affirmative description of freedom of thought and expression, which the signatory nations obligate themselves to protect as a fundamental human right. Specific aspects of information and media of communication must be studied.

2. Permissive limitations must be framed in clear language for this broad freedom. For example, the statement should define types of objectionable language and communication which a nation could control if it desired. Great difficulties are faced here.

3. Because permissive limitations are liable to abuse by particular nations, so that free discussion suffers, reasonable safeguards to protect it must be had.

Within the broad confines of these concepts are important but subordinate areas to be explored in the quest for universal respect for human rights. These domains include:

1. In the event that a workable apparatus for free legal international communication can be set up, what sort of world should be visualized for its operation — the present? the immediate future? the far future?

2. Can international law increase its juris-

diction in actual practice to the point where human rights can be guaranteed from violation by individual or State?

3. If the rights can be guaranteed in normal times, should the strain on international tensions be lessened by a proviso that such rights would be held in abeyance in time of war or serious crisis?

4. Will the rest of the world be willing to accept the fruits of Anglo-American experience in relation to the conception and protection of basic civil liberties?

5. How practical is the proposed Central News Agency as a medium of release for world news from any and all sources?

6. Should critical and perhaps explosive cases be avoided where human rights are under litigation in order to build up a reserve of successful adjudications in lesser cases in the interests of prestige?

7. Are there practical lessons to be learned from the experience of the United Nations "enclave" in New York City?

8. As a matter of practical jurisprudence, is it possible to set up workable distinctions between obligatory and voluntary jurisdiction of international tribunals over private persons?

9. What apparatus ought to be established to handle the undoubted crowding of court dockets due to the vast number of cases which would require judgment?

These are but a few of the problems which come to mind in turning over the basic requirements of free communication and other human rights under International Law. Their proper solution will, it is suggested, bear out the assertion of Mr. Justice Stone that "ultimately only the judiciary can be assumed to have the power to govern."<sup>15</sup>

### III

Before turning to see what the scholars in the law of nations have to say about the

<sup>14</sup> Z. Chafee, Jr., "Legal Problems of Freedom of Information in the United Nations," *LAW AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS*, XIV. 565, passim, 1949.

<sup>15</sup> W. Mendelson, "Mr. Justice Field and Laissez-Faire," *VIRGINIA LAW REVIEW*, XXXVI. 46, 1950.

revision of the Articles cited, it may be instructive to examine the philosophy and experience of the United States Supreme Court on matters of communication. Are there useful guideposts among its decisions, doctrines, and dicta? At the same time a glance at the methods of the United Nations "enclave" in New York City may be useful to the same end.

*Free Speech and the United States Supreme Court.* Free legal speech and assembly is a fundamental civil right of every citizen of the United States under constitutional protection.<sup>16</sup> Any citizen of the United States may be within the jurisdiction of the High Court in a proper case or controversy. Its decisions represent judgments achieved by the combined effects of the federal Constitution, the social milieu, previous decisions, and the intellectual and social philosophies of members sitting on a given Court. Protection of personal liberties in the United States, it is argued, is more adequate than for property rights. In particular, the Court has discouraged restraints upon free communication by prior censorship, injunction, license tax, and the like. Only very serious threats to national security, public peace and safety, the administration of justice, and the like are thought important enough to warrant deprivation of the right to speech and assembly. There must of course be a careful balance maintained between public and private interest at all times. The term "public interest" is a clearly defined and long recognized concept under Anglo-American law, but not of international. Thus, basic questions involving an individual's relations with his own national government or the government of a foreign state are easily visualized: When is his speech a threat to peaceful international relations? When is it a threat to the internal security of his country? To what extent should the demands of war, the threat of

war, or diplomatic protocol be allowed to limit his speech? What controls should be placed upon his use of radio and television for international broadcasts?

The philosophy and tools created by the United States Supreme Court in the course of some 175 years might be adopted by an international court with genuine profit, subject, of course, to necessary or desirable modification.

The broad human values found in free speech by Anglo-American courts should recommend themselves to men everywhere: the stimulating effect upon interchange of thought; encouraging the search for truth; maintaining the vigor of thought by challenges to its power and authority; releasing of subjective emotional tensions in politics, religions, and in areas where discrimination against minorities is actual or potential; talking with one's peers as an essential process to the continued belief in one's self and ideals; and the correcting of prejudices and misconceptions by exposure to the light of truth and logic.

An international court having jurisdiction over cases involving free communication can also obtain helpful guidance from these precepts of Anglo-American jurisprudence:

1. Free communication is an inherent characteristic of free people everywhere.
2. The right to free speech is not absolute.
3. The public interest should be protected by the exercise of due process and not by ukase.
4. Statutes for freedom of communication must be clearly and definitely drawn.
5. Prior restraint upon free communication should be discouraged so far as possible.
6. The relation (in terms of priority values) between free communication and other basic rights such as peace, safety, convenience, and the like should be determined as soon as may be.
7. Clear and present danger to national

<sup>16</sup> For detailed discussion, see my articles in THE REVIEW, VI.1; VI.4; and VII.1.



security or any other fundamental interest of a given nation should be recognized as a valid ground for denial of free communication.

## IV

*The United Nations' "Enclave" in New York City.* By a happy combination of circumstances the United Nations headquarters in New York City offers in miniature a few analogies to the situation discussed in these pages. There, as perhaps nowhere else in the world today, divergent nationalities, loyalties, politics, races, and interests have been brought together in a single unit closely knit in terms of organization, purpose, and geography. In a very real sense the men and women of the UNO there have a status which involves many aspects of dual nationality.<sup>17</sup> An examination of the rules which govern their behavior and loyalties, their rights and duties, is instructive.<sup>18</sup>

Members of the United Nations' Secretariat are international civil servants.<sup>19</sup> "Their responsibilities are not national but exclusively international." Upon acceptance of appointment, they hold themselves out as ready to discharge their functions and regulate their conduct with the interests of the United Nations only in view. Definite restraints are placed upon their utterance and publication: "Staff members shall not, except in the normal course of official duties or with the prior approval of the Secretary-General, perform any of the following acts, if such act relates to the purposes, activities, or interests of the United Nations:

1. Issue statements to the press, radio, or other agencies of public information.
2. Accept speaking engagements.

<sup>17</sup> L. B. Orfield, "The Legal Effects of Dual Nationality," *GEORGE WASHINGTON LAW REVIEW*, XVII, 427-445.

<sup>18</sup> The writer is indebted to Mr. W. A. Heaps, Chief, Service to Readers Unit, United Nations Library, for pertinent documents.

<sup>19</sup> SECRETARY-GENERAL'S BULLETIN, New York, 1954, Staff Rules, Ch. I, Reg. 1.1.

3. Take part in film, theater, radio, or television productions.

4. Submit articles, books, or other material for publication.<sup>20</sup>

Staff rules also control the political allegiances and activities of members of the Secretariat.<sup>21</sup> Rule 101.8 declares: "Membership in a political party is permitted provided that such membership does not entail action, or obligation to action, contrary to Staff Regulation 1.7. The payment of normal financial contributions shall not be constructed as an activity contrary to Staff Regulation 1.7." A second section of 101.8 reads: "In any case of doubt as to the interpretation or application of Staff Regulation 1.7 and the present rule, the staff member concerned shall request a ruling from the Secretary-General."

Supervision and execution of these rules is entrusted by statute to The Administrative Tribunal of the United Nations.<sup>22</sup> Its seven members are competent to pass judgment on alleged non-observance of contracts and regulations, three sitting in judgment at a time. These proceedings are usually public.<sup>23</sup>

## V

What values, if any, are to be found in the philosophy and decisions of the United States Supreme Court and in the present regulations and practices of The United Nations in New York City? In terms of revision of the Articles cited they do not appear to be very helpful. The views of the United States Supreme Court reflect the evolution of law in terms of rights and duties in the Anglo-American world and are part of its moral code, political credo, and continuing history. It is quite evident that the patterns of philosophy and practice represented by the common and statute law

<sup>20</sup> SECRETARY-GENERAL'S BULLETIN, Staff Rules, New York, 1952, Ch. I, Reg. 1.1.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, Reg. 14; 101.6.

<sup>22</sup> Statute of the Administrative Tribunal of the United Nations, December 8, 1953.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, Art. VIII.

of England and America cannot be easily applied to the government of the rest of the world. It is not chauvinistic to write that in terms of respect for basic human rights and personal liberties the western world, and the United States and Great Britain in particular, are far ahead of most other portions of the globe. Their principles of law for human liberties would be difficult of adoption, even over a long period, for many reasons — the fundamental conflict between free enterprise and communism, the pastoral state of civilization in many of the Near Eastern states, the lack of experience in democratic government by the people of many lands in Asia and Africa, and the like.

It is also obvious that the rules of the United Nations have been framed with extreme caution and in curtailment of individual freedom of action by its personnel.

Its employees are all of them subject to one form or another of prior censorship of speech and publication. While its regulations permit active membership in political parties, the degree of activity and allegiance is carefully controlled. Practical necessity, then, appears to have produced a huge gap between the ideals and aims of the UN and their application to daily affairs. It is unlikely that now or ever members of the family of nations would submit to anything like this degree of control under international law.

One is forced reluctantly to review Chafee's observation that plans for increased human rights under international law must be formulated in terms of remote rather than immediate application. The succeeding article in this series will examine some of the problems and devices for their solution in detail.



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# ON A RECENT WORK ON TRANSCAUCASIA

VARDGES AHARONIAN

THE STRUGGLE FOR TRANSCAUCASIA (1917-1921),  
*by Firuz Kazemzadeh, Ph.D. Philosophical Library, New York.*

The title of this work leads the reader to believe that the author is going to concern himself primarily with the external forces — Russia, Turkey, Germany and partly England — which have endeavored to master Transcaucasia between 1917 and 1921. A perusal of the work, however, leaves the impression that the struggle of the external forces centering on Transcaucasia has served as a mere pretext for the author to dwell more in detail about the three principal peoples of that region, namely, the Georgians, Azerbaijanis and the Armenians.

In a brief survey Mr. Kazemzadeh has presented the Russian advance toward the Caucasus beginning from the days of Peter the Great in the early part of the 18th Century until the Twentieth Century. The author then takes a stride to the period of 1917-1921 when, as a consequence of the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia, the Transcaucasus seceded from Russia, first as a totality, and later was divided into three republics — Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Mr. Kazemzadeh dwells at some length individually on the formation of these republics, the form of their governments, and the history of their brief life. In the brief course of scarcely two and a half years of independence which these republics enjoyed Mr. Kazemzadeh has discovered all

the political and human virtues in Georgia and Azerbaijan and all the adverse attributes in Armenia. Thus, for instance, we know that 85 percent of the delegates of the Constituent Assembly of the Georgian Republic were Social-Democrats and only 15 percent were Federalists and non-partisans. And since these delegates had been elected by secret, equal and free ballot, Mr. Kazemzadeh calls the Georgian Republic a democratic state.

For the moment let us agree with Mr. Kazemzadeh in regard to Georgia. Now comes the Armenian Republic's turn. We likewise know that in the Parliamentary elections of Armenia in 1919, as a result of the free, equal and secret ballot, 85 percent of the delegates were Dashnaks and the 15 percent were Socialist Revolutionaries, Russians, Tartars and Yezidis. Mr. Kazemzadeh characterizes this government as a dictatorship. This type of double standards, one for Georgia and one for Armenia, is incomprehensible to us, and the obvious bias becomes all the more poignant when we consider the testimony of a prominent Georgian political leader. This is how Z. Avalov characterized the government of his native Georgia in 1918-1921:

"Suffice it to point out here the principal lines of Georgian Democracy in 1918-1921. The Georgian Democracy in 1918-1921,

being a form of the right wing dictatorship of the Social Democrats, namely of Marxism, it constituted the preliminary stage for the victory of the Soviet dictatorship in Georgia." (Z. Avalov, *The Independence of Georgia and International Politics*, Introduction.)

Mr. Avalov knows the nature of Social Democracy, and undoubtedly he knows the difference between the historico-philosophical ideology of Social Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Had Mr. Kazemzadeh known this difference he would have realized that the Armenian Revolutionary Federation whose social program was highly similar to that of the Socialist-Revolutionaries could not possibly have been a partisan of dictatorship either in Armenia or anywhere else.

"On paper Armenia was a democratic republic, yet in reality the Dashnaktsutium exercised undisputed dictatorship," writes Kazemzadeh. "The Government of Armenia, controlled by the Dashnaktsutium, has been attacked by the right and by the left, by Armenians as well as by foreigners. Although the greater part of these charges are supported by the facts, yet essentially they were unjust. Armenia was in such a bad plight that no other government could have done better." (*The Struggle for Transcaucasia*, p. 211-212.)

This is dialectic acrobatics. Because Armenia was in a bad plight its government was dictatorial, because bad conditions create a bad government! The historical fact is, Armenia had a good government despite the adverse circumstances. The Government of Armenia did its utmost to remove these adverse conditions. Kazemzadeh's bias and his fixed notions prevent him from seeing any good in Armenia.

When Azerbaijan was independent the country was ruled by the rabidly nationalistic Mussavat Party which consisted of land-owning Tartar Khans, Begs and Aghalars. Mr. Kazemzadeh knows this fact very

well, and yet, speaking of the Transcaucasian Sejm (Diet) of 1917 before the three republics had declared their independence, he writes that the Tartar (Mussavatist) Khans in the Sejm voted in favor of land reform. "Some say," writes Kazemzadeh, that they did this because they were sure land reform laws would never be enforced," but he immediately adds: "but it can likewise be supposed that the Khans acted the way they did being carried away by their revolutionary zeal as did many French nobles during the French Revolution."

This is almost incredible, as coming from a historian. Mr. Kazemzadeh calls the Dashnaks counter-revolutionary tyrannical dictators, and with the same breath gives his Khan-Khoy'sky's, the Hadjinsky's and the Khasmamedov's a seat of honor alongside the Mirabeau's of the French Revolution, allegedly having been carried away by their zeal for the revolution. We know the real explanation for the "revolutionary zeal" of the Tartar Khans. Those who presented the land reform bill to the Sejm were the Georgian Mensheviks who sorely needed political allies, and as later events proved, the Mussavatist Khans took full advantage of this situation. When the bill became law the Tartar Khans who were the ones to enforce it in Azerbaijan could easily nullify it. And this is precisely what happened. The Mussavat Government of Azerbaijan forbade the enforcement of the law until the Constituent Assembly of Azerbaijan convened, which, as a matter of fact, never convened. The Mussavatist Khans voted in favor of the land reform bill in order to please the Georgian Social-Democrats. It was a purely political barter.

Mr. Kazemzadeh leaves no stone unturned in order to prove that Armenians in Transcaucasia were inferior in every respect to the Georgians, and naturally to the Tartars. He has given too much space to the Armeno-Turkish and Armeno-Tartar relations, and partly to Armeno-Georg-

ian relations. The factual evidence he adduces in regard to Transcaucasia is calculated to prove that the Armenians were inferior to the Georgians and the Tartars, both in numbers and in national worth.

Thus, speaking of the comparative numbers of the three peoples in the first part of his book, he states that, according to the 1897 census, the number of the Georgians in Transcaucasia was one million 250 thousand, while the Armenians were slightly more than one million. When Mr. Kazemzadeh proposes to recount the events of 1917-1921 in Transcaucasia, and to explain these events he even has taken the pains of exploring the census numbers of the several populations, he should have taken into account not the census figures of 1897 but the figures which are closer to 1917.

The closest figures to 1917 is the census of 1912 or 1913 (I donot recall the exact date) published in the official "Caucasian Calendar" of 1914. According to this Calendar the number of the Armenians in Transcaucasia at the time was one million 800 thousand; the Georgians, one million 750 thousand. Aside from Transcaucasia there were Armenians in Russia, in Turkish Armenia, and the Armenian communities of the Dispersion which made the total number of the Armenians more than four million in 1914, whereas, the total number of the Georgians in all the world was the above-mentioned figure in 1914, and those were concentrated in Transcaucasia. Even now, after the decimation of one million Armenians as a result of the Turkish deportations of 1915, the total number of the Armenians is more than three million. It is a fortunate thing for Georgia that the number of the Georgians outside the fatherland scarcely exceeds the hundreds and at most some thousands. The Georgians, all honor to them, have no communities abroad or expatriation. The Armenians whose numbers were inferior in Transcaucasia, according to Kazemzadeh, should be entitled

to less rights and privileges than the Georgians and the Tartars of the same region. This obviously is the point he is bent on proving.

## II

To attack the Independent Republic of Armenia, Mr. Kazemzadeh goes as far back as 1905, the period of the bloody encounters between the Armenians and the Tartars. Speaking of these encounters he truthfully states that the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis of Transcaucasia lived for cenuries in comparative peace. Then he adds: "It is impossible to pin the blame for the massacres on either side. It seems in some cases (Baku, Elizabetopol) the Azerbaijanis fired the first shots, in other cases (Shusha, Tiflis) the Armenians."

We know (and we are sure Mr. Kazemzadeh himself knows) that in all these places the ones who fired the first shot, namely the attackers, were always the Azerbaijanis. In one of these places, in Tiflis, the writer of these lines was an eye witness of the Armeno-Tartar encounters and he saw with his own eyes how the Tartars of Borchalu, armed brigands, started the fight and how that fight was ended. But that fight was comparaively light and the Armenians escaped almost unscathed, because there were 150 thousand Armenians in Tiflis while the Tartars scarcely exceeded 10-15 thousand.

The thing which distresses us is what Mr. Kazemzadeh writes about the massacre of the Armenians in Baku. That massacre marked the beginning of the Armeno-Tartar bloody encounters which for fully two years turned the whole of Transcaucasia upside down, causing countless human and material losses.

Obviously in any fight one of the sides must be the attacker. Where has it ever been seen when neither side took the initiative and yet thousands of lives were sacrificed and incalculable material losses sustained? To declare both sides innocent or



equally guilty is tantamount to justifying the guilty party.

And that is precisely what Mr. Kazemzadeh does when he exonerates the Baku Tartars who one February morning of 1905 surprised the peaceful and unarmed population of the Armenian quarter of the city by putting them to sword and fire. The massacre shocked not only the Armenians but all the decent elements of other nationalities outside of Baku when the news leaked out a few days later. People could not understand, much less explain, why out of a clear sky, one part of the population of a city like Baku, the greatest oil center of Russia, could fall upon another part of the people, massacre it, and destroy their property. For several days this puzzle had every one stumped, so absurd and so stupid was the whole thing, until gradually the inner aspects of the tragedy were unfolded.

That the Tartars were the attackers was beyond doubt or debate; so obvious and irrefutable were the facts. But the question still persisted, why did they attack? The answer to this question was not late in coming. It became known that the author was Nakashidze, the Military Governor of Baku, who had armed Tartar brigand bands and had set them on the Armenian quarter of the city. For three days the Tartar brigands wrought havoc in the Armenian quarter unhindered and unpunished. Only the third day the Armenians were able to organize their defense under the leadership of the peerless Armenian Fedayi (partisan) leader Nicol Duman. When the Armenian defense was organized the Tartars stopped their attacks.

Until the establishment of the Soviet Government there was not a single honest paper in Transcaucasia and Russia (with the exceptions of two Armenophobe Russian newspapers, the official *Kavkas* and *Novoye Vremya*) which did not condemn the Tsarist Government for the Baku mass-

acre. Even the so-called Senate Investigating Committee of the Tsarist Government put the responsibility of the February events on the Military Governor of Baku and his associates. Nakashidze was not punished by the Petersburg Government which had planned the massacre but a revenging arm of the Armenians settled his score.

After this episode the Armenians supposed that there would be no similar repetitions, but the Baku massacre was followed by the organized attack by the Tartars of Gandzak on their kinsmen (the Armenians), it became perfectly plain that the Tsarist Government was following the exterminating policy of Abdul Hamid which manifested itself through the wholesale massacres in Turkish Armenia. Thereupon the Armenians of the Caucasus started to organize their self-defense. The movement was led by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. Apparently this circumstance has offended Kazemzadeh who writes: "The Dashnaktzutiun as a party bears a major portion of responsibility, for it was often the leading force in perpetrating the massacres. The Dashnaks organized bands that would attack Muslims and often exterminate the population of entire villages. The Azerbaijanis on the other hand did not have any organization comparable to the Dashnaktzutiun. They fought without coordination or plan." (See Kazemzadeh's work, pp. 18-19).

To contend seriously that the Armenians for no cause at all except their lust for blood attacked the neighboring Tartar villages, unsupported by the facts, is a charge which is unworthy of a historian. The cold facts are the Armenians fought merely in order to defend themselves and when the Tartar attacks ceased so the Armenian resistance came to an end.

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easily have destroyed their neighbor Tartars. One of these regions was my own native province of Surmalu in the Plain of Ararat, the right bank of the Arax River, where, nevertheless, not one encounter took place. There was not a single Tartar bloody nose.

Mr. Kazemzadeh is exceedingly unhappy that the Tartars of Baku, Gandzak, Shusha and other places had no organization like the Dashnakzutiun and could not fight as well. He cannot understand the elementary fact that the Tartar brigand bands who fought for loot and to massacre women and children naturally could not forge an efficient national organization. The Tartar brigands were bent on massacre and loot with a minimum, and if possible, without any loss. The Armenian peasant bands, armed and led by Dashnakzutiun, on the other hand, were fighting to defend their families and their property which had been earned by the sweat of their brow. It is understandable why these men were willing to sacrifice the last drop of their blood. Mr. Kazemzadeh is reluctant to see this distinction between looting and assassin Tartars and the Armenian warriors who were fighting to defend their life and property, and he is deeply hurt because the Armenians were better organized and fought better.

### III

Wherever it is impossible to deny pre-planned Tartar attacks, be they against the Armenians or against Russian troops returning from the Caucasus, Mr. Kazemzadeh seeks refuge behind an innocent-looking armor by claiming that it is not known who fired the first shot, or it is not important who fired the first shot. This is one of Kazemzadeh's pet methods to defend the Tartar atrocities.

Thus, in January of 1918, near the Railroad Station of Shamkhor the Tartars stopped the soldiers of a Russian contingent who having abandoned the Caucasian front

were returning home. The Tartars demanded of the Russian soldiers to surrender their weapons. The latter refused to surrender, whereupon, the Azerbaijani brigands attacked and massacred the troops and seized their arms. In this connection Mr. Kazemzadeh writes:

"On the basis of material now available it is impossible to determine who fired the first shot, but the fact remains that a massacre took place, in which several hundred lives were lost." (Ibid, p. 33).

Honest sources put the Russian losses in thousands, massacred by the Tartars.

In the Spring of 1918 the City of Baku was controlled by the Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council. The military force consisted of Russian Caspian fleet and Armenian contingents. This force was controlled by the Council. Like many other cities of mixed population, major nationalities in Baku had their own National Councils. These were: the Armenian National Council and the Mohammedan National Council. These councils were autonomous bodies which exerted a vast influence on their compatriots, far greater than the Government. Each of these councils had its own military force. The backbone of the Mohammedan military force was the so-called "Savage Division," which consisted of Mohammedans which had taken part in World War I on the Russo-German front and was distinguished for its bravery as well as its unusual savagery. In the Spring of 1918 when chaos reigned this "division" had hastened to Baku to help the local Azerbaijanis to take over the government.

In the beginning of April, 1918, the Turks had advanced on the entire Russo-Turkish battle front and had reached Sarikamish. It was quite natural that the Russian Government which consisted of the Soldiers, Peasants and Sailors Council, as well as the Armenians, would be reluctant to see Baku fall into the hands of the Azerbaijani Tartars. Such a government would

be a replica of Ottoman rule, which assuredly would put the oil of Baku at the disposal of Turco-German Allies, depriving Russia of this precious commodity. For the Armenians, the Tartar rule could be fatal, in view of the Mussavatist anti-Armenian policy. No good could come to the Armenians if the Turks occupied Baku. Only three years before the Ottoman Turks had deported and massacred one and a half million Turkish Armenians.

The preceding setting is necessary for an adequate understanding of the events of March, 1918 in Baku. On February 10 the Transcaucasian Seym convened in Tiflis. By this time the Bolsheviks had organized their own military force in Baku under the leadership of S. Shahoumian (Armenian) and Djaparidze (Georgian). The enmity between the Bolsheviks and the Mussavatists was so intense that by the end of March it resulted in bloody encounters.

Mr. Kazemzadeh describes these events in his following characteristic manner:

"It is immaterial who fired the first shot. The fact that counts is that by 6 P.M. 30th March 1918 Baku was a regular battlefield.

"It has been suggested that the latter might expect their help against Bolsheviks. If his was the case, then the Armenians were largely responsible for provoking the massacres that ensued, because the Musavat plunged into armed conflict, thinking that it had only one enemy to face.

"But it was neither the *Kadets*, nor the *Mensheviks*, nor the Socialist-Revolutionaries who saved the Soviet during the March Days. It was the Dashnakzutiun with its military organization that tipped the scales in its favor." (Ibid., p. 71).

By these lines Mr. Kazemzadeh betrays his predilections. For the defeat of the Mussavatists in the bloody encounter with the Bolsheviks which themselves started he blames the Armenian National Council of Baku which in reality, tried to prevent

the extension of the fight between the Mussavatists and the Bolsheviks, but was not successful. "It has been suggested that the Armenians promised to help the Musavat," Kazemzadeh says but does not give us his source. Who are those who suggest that Armenians promised help and later denied such help?

"If this was the case," writes Mr. Kazemzadeh, "then the Armenians were largely responsible for provoking the massacres which ensued." Mr. Kazemzadeh forgets that he is writing history and not fiction. And history is not written with "if's and 'but's", but by established irrefutable facts.

Mr. Kazemzadeh is perfectly willing to rely on "if's and 'it has been suggested'" in writing his history, but he is reluctant to accept the open declarations of Bishop Bagrat, the Prelate of Baku Armenians, and of the Armenian National Council that the Armenians were neutral in the Soviet-Mussavat conflict.

The historical fact is, the Armenians not only were neutral in this fight but they did their utmost to put an end to the conflict. On the morning of April 2-3, at 4 o'clock, the troops of the Armenian National Council took their stand between the two fighting forces in order to stop all communication. These troops had orders not to retaliate to the firing from the Tartar side. During the fight the Armenian National Council took steps to give shelter and to feed the peaceful and unarmed Tartars. Fully 11,726 Tartars were sheltered in public buildings, such as the Mayiloff, Record and Ramsey Theaters, the amphitheater of Ephimov, the Budaghian School, and the Armenian Cultural Building, while 1500 were protected in private Armenian homes, in addition to several hundred prominent Tartar leaders who were sheltered at the Party Building of Dashnakzutiun. This is the testimony of the official sources at our disposal.

Mr. Kazemzadeh does not deny the fact

that Armenians protected the Tartars but he has an explanation for even this one. The Dashnaks did not defend all the Tartars but only the Tartar capitalists in return for a financial remuneration! Such an unpardonable slander is unworthy of a historian.

#### IV

According to our understanding, the man who writes history must be impartial as much as possible, and truthful above all things. Whereas, in writing this history, manifestly it was not the zeal for truth and impartiality which dictated Mr. Kazemzadeh's pen but his intense hatred of the Armenians, especially the Dashnak Armenians.

Availing from Mr. Varandian's book *The Armeno-Georgian Quarrel and the Caucasian War* (French language), Mr. Kazemzadeh writes on page 156 of his book:

"In July 15,000 Armenians most of them women and children from Noukhas and She-makha tried to find refuge in the Georgian Village at Lagodekh. The Georgian troops, however, drove them across the frontier at the points of their bayonets into the arms of Azerbaijanis who massacred most of them."

Then Mr. Kazemzadeh immediately adds the following cynical note: "It must be noted that the figures given for the number of the refugees have been borrowed from a book written by a Dashnak which detracts from their reliability." (Ibid, p. 156).

The conclusion is, if the one who gives the figures of the dead is a Dashnak writer he should not be believed. An honest writer would not have used a source which he distrusts, instead of recording the number of women and children who were massacred and immediately afterwards dissipating the effect by pleading unreliability of the source because he is a Dashnak writer.

The Republic of Armenia, according to historian Kazemzadeh, was created by the Dashnaks in order to satisfy their passion

for power and to batten their purses. This is what he writes in this connection:

"From the day Armenia proclaimed her independence, and especially since November 1918, every Armenian of consequence wanted to occupy a high and responsible position preferably abroad. Dozens of legations and consulates were opened mostly for purpose of satisfying of private ambitions of the top party machine. The drain on the national finances which resulted from this policy proved no obstacle." (Ibid., pp. 253-254).

This is an outrageous picture of the truth. The real truth is the following. The Republic of Armenia had representatives in ten capitals of foreign countries and only one commercial agent abroad. Following are these representatives, starting from the neighboring countries: Teheran, Iran, Prince Hovhannes Arghoutian; Tiflis, Georgia, L. Yavangulian; Baku, Azerbaijan, D. Begzadian; Istanbul, Turkey, Tahtajian; Athens, Greece, O. Chayian; Berlin, Germany, G. Greenfield; Bruxelles, Belgium, V. Khorasanjian; London, England, Gen. Bagratuni; Rome, Italy, M. Varantian; Washington, United States, Armen Garo. The General Commercial Agent for abroad was the famous Calouste Gulbenkian.

Of these eleven representatives only three were Dashnaks, Prince H. Arghoutian, Armen Garo and M. Varandian, while the remaining eight were non-Dashnaks, some of them anti-Dashnaks. The Armenian Revolutionary Federation had more trained intellectuals than all the remaining Armenian political parties combined and could easily have taken care of the foreign representation from its own ranks. We do not know from what sources Mr. Kazemzadeh gathered his information but it is obvious that his sources are exceedingly tainted.

Mr. Kazemzadeh is especially intrigued by Avetis Aharonian who was a noted Dashnak. To discredit the personality of this man Kazemzadeh draws a salient distinc-

tion between a Dashnak and a "gentleman."

According to Mr. Kazemzadeh, all the peoples of Transcaucasia expected that the Paris Peace Conference which convened in Paris after World War I would solve their problems, would establish the peace, and a peaceful co-existence of the Transcaucasian independent republics. No one put more faith in the justice of the Allies than the Armenians.

"Animated by the highest hopes they (the Armenians) sent not one but two Delegations to Paris," writes Kazemzadeh. "One was the Armenian National Delegation headed by Nubar Pasha, representing the interest of the Turkish Armenians of the Diaspora. The National Delegation was officially recognized by the Allies. The other Delegation was that of the Armenian Republic. It was headed by the prominent Dashnak leader, Chairman of the Armenian National Council, Avetis Aharonian." (*Ibid.*, pp. 253-254).

According to historian Kazemzadeh, the National Delegation headed by Nubar Pasha was officially recognized by the Allies but he keeps a discreet silence about the Delegation of the Independent Republic which was equally officially recognized by the same Allies, tacitly implying that the latter was not officially recognized.

It is interesting, to note, if the Delegation of the Armenian Republic was not officially recognized, how come that the Treaty of Sevres, August 10, 1920, which endorsed the independence of Armenia, together with the Allied signatories, was signed by Avetis Aharonian, the President of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic and not by Nubar Pasha, the President of the National Delegation?

"Boghos Nubar Pasha and Avetis Aharonian," continues Mr. Kazemzadeh, "were as unlike as could be. The former was the son of a wealthy Armenian who had been a Minister of the Khedive of Egypt. Boghos Nubar received a good education, spoke

several languages and represented a finished type of a gentleman who combined in himself the social graces of both the East and the West. He was extremely conservative and thought more in terms of the Armenian people than of an Armenian State.

"Avedis Aharonian, on the contrary was a self-made man. He owed his prominence in the Dashnak Party to the force of his personality, his will power, and a lack of scruples which served him well in achieving control of his party machine. A fierce nationalist, Aharonian lacked social amenities of Boghos Nubar Pasha."

Whence? From what source has Mr. Kazemzadeh gathered this grotesque picture of Avetis Aharonian? we are tempted to ask.

Mr. Kazemzadeh should have known that Avetis Aharonian was not a self-made man but a man of university education, having studied at the Universities of Lausanne and Sorbonne. He should have known that the man whom he has disgraced as "unscrupulous in his quest for power" never occupied any administrative post in the Republic of Armenia, Premier or Minister. He was President of the Armenian National Council, President of the Armenian Parliament, President of the Delegation of the Armenian Republic, but even these posts were honorary, rather than administrative.

He should have known that in those days the doors of universities were open not only do the wealthy, the sons of the Pasha's and the ministers, but also to the sons of the humblest peasants and the artisans. Avetis Aharonian's father was a village smith, and Avetis Aharonian was proud of his father's trade.

As to Avetis Aharonian's association with the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, we would like to tell Mr. Kazemzadeh that in the entire 65 years old history of that Federation there has not been a single leader, no matter how talented and loved,

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who even for a moment thought of imposing his will on his party. Mr. Kazemzadeh badly errs when he measures the parties with the standards of the Stalins, the Hitlers and the Mussolinis.

For the benefit of Mr. Kazemzadeh we feel impelled to say that Avetis Aharonian never occupied an official position in the Dashnak Party. That he was held in high esteem by the Party is true. But A. Aharonian won that reputation and esteem not only in the Dashnak Party but among the entire Armenian people. And he owed that reputation to the spell of his pen which he dedicated to the Armenian people for 45 years, their literature and their cause of emancipation from the Turkish yoke. It is curious that Mr. Kazemzadeh does not even mention that A. Aharonian was a writer, of great fame and popularity.

#### V

Continuing his story of the Paris Peace Conference, Kazemzadeh writes that the Armenians, in addition to their territorial claims, demanded from the Turks 16 billion francs as reparation for their material losses. And he promptly takes care of the reparations. "However, the reparations had been 'paid' even before the Peace Conference in Paris. During the Russian occupation of Turkish Armenia the Armenians looted and massacred Turks to their hearts content." (Ibid., p. 256).

These cynical lines ill become the man who tries to detect "lack of scruple" in other people. He knows very well that during the deportations of 1915 the Turks massacred more than one million Armenians and looted the wealth which had been accumulated by the sweat and blood of the Armenian people in the course of centuries. He knows very well that, all the way from the Caucasian and Persian frontiers to Dersim and Cilicia, there was not one village, one town or city which was not massacred and looted. Knowing all

this, to turn around and to callously claim that the Armenians massacred and looted so many Turks that they fully exacted their reparations is a cruel commentary on the sublime sentiment which is called "scruple."

The author of these lines accompanied the Armenian Volunteer regiments of the Russian Army which entered Turkish Armenia after the deportations of 1915. We passed through Bayazit, Alashkert, Bergri, Ardjesh, Al Djavaz, Akhlat, Tatvan, Khotur, Sarai, Arjak, Van, Vostan, Sorp, Bitlis, Chekhour, Moush and countless villages in the neighborhood of these cities. With the exception of Beyazit and a part of Alashkert which were saved by the precipitate advance of the Russian army, and with the exception of the City of Van which resisted the Turkish army for fully one month and which was saved by the providential and timely arrival of the Russian army and the Armenian Volunteer regiments, in all the Armenian villages and cities we met not a single Armenian; they all had been massacred or deported. We also met no Turks who, although having seized the property and the homes of the massacred Armenians, were now retreating with the Turkish army. Even if the few regiments of the Armenian Volunteers had wanted it, they could not have massacred as many Turks to equal the loss of the Armenians. A whole people had been wiped off by massacre and deportation! You cannot gloss over such a grim fact by superficial dismissal or glib affirmations that the Armenians exacted their reparations in full even before the Paris Peace Conference.

Whenever there is a question of rights or the nature of some event in which one of the parties is an Armenian, Kazemzadeh is always against that Armenian and the champion of his opponent. Such a case is the Conference of the Big Powers in San Remo in 1920. To present themselves before the Conference in a united front, the

Conference invited the Armenians, the Georgians and the Azerbaijanis first to settle their differences among themselves. Among other things the Armenians tried to persuade the Georgians to give Armenia, which had no exit to the sea, the use of the Port of Batum and the right to build a railway from Kars to Batum, along the plain of the Djorokh River. "The Georgians," writes Kazemzadeh, "naturally did not agree to this." (Ibid., p. 274). The Armenian claim that they had no exit to the sea, he argues, is not correct, when judged in the light of the Sevres Treaty which gave part of the Black Sea coast to Armenia.

The obvious fallacy in this argument is that Kazemzadeh anticipates the events and writes history by anticipation. It will be observed that the San Remo Conference took place in April of 1920, five months before the signing of the Sevres Treaty (August 10, 1920). According to Kazemzadeh the Armenians were guilty because they had not foreseen what the Allies would grant them in August! Thus, their demand in April, when as yet no provision for exit to the sea was contemplated, becomes unjust! Just how absurd can a historian get?

Now let us take a look at the view of a Georgian political leader who understood Georgian interests much better and defended them in a far more effective manner.

The non-partisan Z. Avalov, a noted Georgian political leader and a member of the Georgian Delegation who took part in the abovementioned negotiations between the three Transcaucasian nationalities and the Allied Powers has this to say in his book entitled *The Independence of Georgia*. "The construction of the Kars-Batum Railway is desirable from all angles and is only just to Armenia." (Z. Avalov, *The Independence of Georgia*, p. 272).

To refute all the distortions and manifest malice which crowd the pages of Mr. Kazemzadeh's book it would be necessary to write a whole book. The few inaccura-

cies and distortions which we have pointed out should suffice to give a fair idea of the nature of this work. There are two points, however, which should be dealt with before we close. The first of these is Kazemzadeh's malicious description of the hastily organized Armenian Army in 1918.

In February of 1918 Vehib Pasha's army started its invasion of the Caucasus. Mr. Kazemzadeh writes in this connection:

"An attempt was made by the Transcaucasian detachments to resist, but the Armenians who had distinguished themselves in the massacres proved to be poor fighters when it came to real war. Andranik, the famous Armenian General responsible for the defence of Erzeroum could not prevent mass desertions. In spite of their supreme number the Armenians evacuated Erzeroum almost without resisting." (Ibid, pp. 86-87).

Two years ago a large volume was published in London, entitled *Caucasian Battlefields* — A history of the wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1828-1921, by W. E. D. Allen and the late Paul Muratoff, Cambridge University Press, 1953. Very naturally a good deal of space is given to the Armenian participation in these conflicts, especially to World War I and the withdrawal of the Russian armies from Caucasus in 1918. Both authors speak in some detail about the Armenian Volunteer contingents and about the military operations of the Armenian army which was organized later in 1917. Both of these writers are familiar with Kazemzadeh's book because they refer to it in their notes.

Messres Allen and Muratoff nowhere consider the Armenian forces as superior to the Turkish forces. During the fights of May, 1918, this is the two authors' estimate of the Turkish forces: "Against 30,000 Turkish infantry the Armenians could rally some 20,000 rifles — units not always well disciplined nor tactically efficient, but at the same time stubborn and courageous

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in defence of the homes which lay at their backs." (*Caucasian Battlefields*, p. 470).

Setting aside the details of the fights, we shall give here the two authors' description of the manner in which the Armenian warriors fought. First, our Volunteer Contingents which in said volume are called *Druzhiny*, as well as in Russian military communiques. "Four Armenian *druzhiny* took the field on the outbreak of hostilities and others followed later (and fought well)." (*Ibid*, p. 242).

"General Trukhin and his Armenians and Cossacks were engaged during June in clearing the Turks from the southern shores of Lake Van. The Armenian *druzhiny*, under such popular leaders as Andranik, Hamazasp and Dro, fought with great elan, and drove the Turkish gendarmerie units from Vostan on the lake and from the two villages of Chatak and Mukus on the road to Siirt. On 20 June the Armenians took Sevan, on the 25th, Sorp — both villages on the shore of the lake. The Turks, however, anxious for the security of the important town of Bitlis, brought up the bulk of the 36th Division and the Armenians retired to the line Norkev-Mukus, which they were able to hold with the help of the Transbaikal Cossacks." (*Ibid*, p. 301).

Now a word about the newly-formed Armenian Army of whom Kazemzadeh says, "notorious in massacre but poor fighters."

"The Armenians were stubborn and courageous fighters." (Allen-Muratoff, *Ibid*, p. 470).

"Between 26 and 28 May, in the region of Karakilise took place the most serious fighting in all this curious Turco-Armenian war. On this occasion the Armenian rifle regiments fought stubbornly." (*Ibid*, p. 472).

"On May 21st, Silikian's main group was attacked near Sardarabad by two regiments of the Turkish 11th Caucasian Division on the march from Alexandropol. The Armenians were holding the line of villages,

Kurakanlu — Kerpalu-Zeiva, a few miles to the west of their holy city and patriarchal Seat of Etchmiadzin. The Turks were not in greater force than the Armenians and, using all his reserves, Silikian successfully counter-attacked on 23 and 24 May. He not only recaptured Sardarabad but pressed back the enemy as far as Ani and Mastara, some thirty miles to the north of Sardarabad. The same day Dro was fighting the 3rd Regiment of the 11th Caucasian Division which was advancing from Amamli to Bash-Abaran. Silikian reinforced him with the 2nd Cavalry Regiment and on the 25th Dro counter-attacked (Footnote: On this occasion the Armenian horse executed a successful mounted attack). Fighting continued on the 26th and on the 28th. Dro was reinforced by infantry sent up by Silikian. On the 29th he was able to throw back the Turks to the north of Bash-Abaran, and remained in firm possession of the important defile. Thus both Silikian and Dro, operating on terms of numerical equality with the enemy, had each secured an important success." (*Ibid*, pp. 475-476).

Sometimes Mr. Kazemzadeh flippantly says things which cannot fail to attract the reader's attention and disturb him. As if speaking of a mere commonplace occurrence he says in one place: "A few Russian villages (in Armenia) which had survived the war were looted by the Armenian refugees, forcing their inhabitants to seek haven in Persia." (*The Struggle for Transcaucasia*, p. 287).

These lines, aside from being absolutely untrue, leave the impression as if they were written to provoke the Russian reader against the Armenians. The historic fact is, during 1918-1920, of the three Caucasian republics only in Armenia did the Russians find fraternal treatment. Conversely, the many Russian officers who had preferred to remain in Armenia during this period showed a fraternal spirit toward

the Armenians and supported them in their struggle for existence.

Now a word about the Russian villagers who were forced "to seek haven in Persia." Before 1914 the present boundary of Armenia included the following Russian villages: In the region of Karakilise-Dilijan as far as the shores of Lake Sevan — Voskresenovka, Nikitino, New Dilijan, Golovino, Semyonovka, Elenovka and Alexandrovka. In the region of Djalal Oghli (present Stepavan) — Vorontzovka (now Kalinino), Mikhailovo, Novoseltzovo, Krestovaya, Blagodarnoye, Privolnoye, Alexandrovka, Pakrovka, Nicolayevka and Krugloye. Near Alexandropol (present Leninakan) the Village of Alexandrovka. In Zangezour the villages of Bazar Chai and Malishka.

All these Russian villages which existed before 1914, stood in the days of the Armenian Republic and still stand today as shown by the map of Soviet Armenia published in 1932.

Since he is the original accuser, Mr. Kazemzadeh is bound to tell us which of the abovementioned Russian villages was abused by the Armenians and its inhabitants forced to seek refuge in Iran.

It is pertinent here to reverse the picture and ask Mr. Kazemzadeh if he can offer us an explanation, since he seems to be so concerned about the fate of Russian villages in Armenia.

For about two years the ancient region of Vanand (Kars) was part of the Independent Armenian Republic. Until 1918, the time when the Ottoman Turks invaded the Caucasus, following Russian villages stood in the region of Kars: Novo-Selim, Vladikars, Petrovka, Prokhladnaya, Vorontzovka, Romanova, Novo-Mikhailovka, Novo-Pakrovka, Oshlanka, Novo-Estonskaya and others.

Can Mr. Kazemzadeh tell us what happened to the inhabitants of these Russian villages when Kars fell into the hands of the Turks? Can he show us the places of

these villages and their neighboring Greek villages on the map?

If it were Mr. Kazemzadeh's intention to provoke the Russians against the Armenians, we can assure him that he will badly fail in his aim. The present generation of the Russians knows well, and history has recorded it, what is the location of Shamkhor where the Tartar brigands massacred the Russian soldiers in order to seize their weapons. That Shamkhor is not in Armenia.

Armenia was the only Caucasian country which gave shelter to Russian soldiers who were returning from the Turkish front. These Russian officers, no matter how small in numbers, voluntarily joined the newly-formed Armenian army and fought against the enemies of the Armenians. Lieutenant Colonels Korolkov, Nesterovky and Perekrestov commanded several Armenian regiments from 1917 to 1920. In 1918 the force which staved off the Turks at the gates of Alexandropol was a contingent which consisted wholly of Russian volunteers and all of whom were officers of the army, from the non commissioned officer to the Colonel. This was a brotherly aid on the part of the Russians for the Armenian people who were fighting for their very existence, and the Armenian people shall be eternally grateful for that modest but spontaneous assistance.

The Introduction to Mr. Kazemzadeh's book is written by Professor M. M. Karpovich of Harvard University. Prof. Karpovich warmly recommends the book. Needless to say this endorsement greatly surprised us because Prof. M. M. Karpovich generally is regarded as a liberal, fair-minded and truthful scholar, as well as commendably tolerant toward the national aspirations of the small nationalities of Russia. And we had a right to expect that he would have been more critical of a book which crawls with so many historic inaccuracies, distortions and baseless assertions. We still refuse to believe that Prof. Karpo-

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vich shares the anti-Armenian spirit which exudes from every page of this book.

Mr. Kazemzadeh is an Iranian from his father's side. It grieves us sorely that the pen which wrote this book should have been wielded by the hand of an Iranian. We know that the Armenians of Iran have been law-abiding and loyal citizens, always zealous for the welfare and progress of Iran. The Government of Iran has always been friendly and patronizing of its Armenian citizens. We are confident that all liberal-minded intelligent Iranians appreciate the role which the Armenians in general, and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in particular, played in the Iranian struggle to establish a democratic regime

in the country. Armenian leaders and their warriors did not spare their blood in that struggle. Yeprem Khan, noted Dashnak leader and Sadtar Khan's associate fell in that struggle. Mr. Kazemzadeh who sees the revolutionary zeal of the Mirabeau's in the Mussavatist Khans of Azerbaijan should have known the role of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in the regeneration of Iran.

The Armenians and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation owe nothing to Kazemzadeh. But Kazemzadeh owes the Armenian people and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation something. That is the truth which so woefully is lacking in his book.





## THE MOTHER AND THE MOURNERS

DIANA DER HOVANESSIAN

*Mourners:*

*Let the day divide itself  
Into hours of disbelief  
That march in cadence, numb to lull  
Procrastinate the grief.*

*Mother:*

*There is no harp  
To life to Zephyr now.  
Above the flat flung land  
Heavy the fledglings  
Lightened of their load  
Drag wings against the sand.  
And windward petals that plummeted rain-wet  
Droop like heavy rosaries unshed unsaid as yet:*

*Mourners:*

*On the other side of the valley  
Death plays a different role  
Thief no more but restorer  
To those who wait his toll.*

*Mother:*

*I do not will to know, just sleep  
But the jagged tasker's questions seep  
Through the night. Whose were the coins for the awful toll?  
Whose voice tied shibboleths to unroll?  
Who folded wraps soft to your face  
Whose tears cooled the sighed embrace  
Who lulled you with words I parch to say?  
Or was there a one who begged you stay?*

*Mourners:*

*Tomorrow will bring the tendril  
Words to seize and trust:  
What God wrought of molten matter  
He can lift again from dust.*

# ARMENIAN CRYPTOGRAPHY

NOTES ON SOME SAMPLES IN THE COLLECTION OF  
H. KURDIAN, WICHITA, KANSAS

PROF. WERNER WINTER  
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

1. While the history of West-European cryptography has been attracting the interest of students for a long time (an easily accessible account is found in: Fletcher Pratt, *Secret and Urgent. The Story of Codes and Ciphers*, Blue Ribbon Books, Garden City, N. Y., 1942; cf. also D. D. Millikin's articles in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 6 (1953). 688-90, vol. 8 (1953). 266-68h), the existence of Armenian ciphers seems to have remained unnoticed. Harry Kurdian has kindly permitted me to publish samples of different enciphering systems found in manuscripts in his possession; he has also been greatly helpful in checking my readings and furnishing suggestions facilitating the interpretation of the ciphers.

Three manuscripts provide the material to be discussed in this paper: (1) a single leaf of a ritual text written in the village of Azara by the scribe Martiros and illuminated by Zakaria Awantsi<sup>1</sup> dated 1599; (2) a book containing the four gospels, written, illuminated and bound by Zakaria Awantsi in the year 1597. In the latter manuscript, the cryptography is found in an addition to the colophon on p. 701. Since one of the ciphers found in text (2) closely resembles one used in (1), and since in both cases Zakaria Awantsi is connected with the execution of the manuscript, it seems safe to assume that Zakaria was responsible for

the insertion of the ciphers, if not for their invention. (3) A Sharakan of XVII century the photo of which is presented with this article.

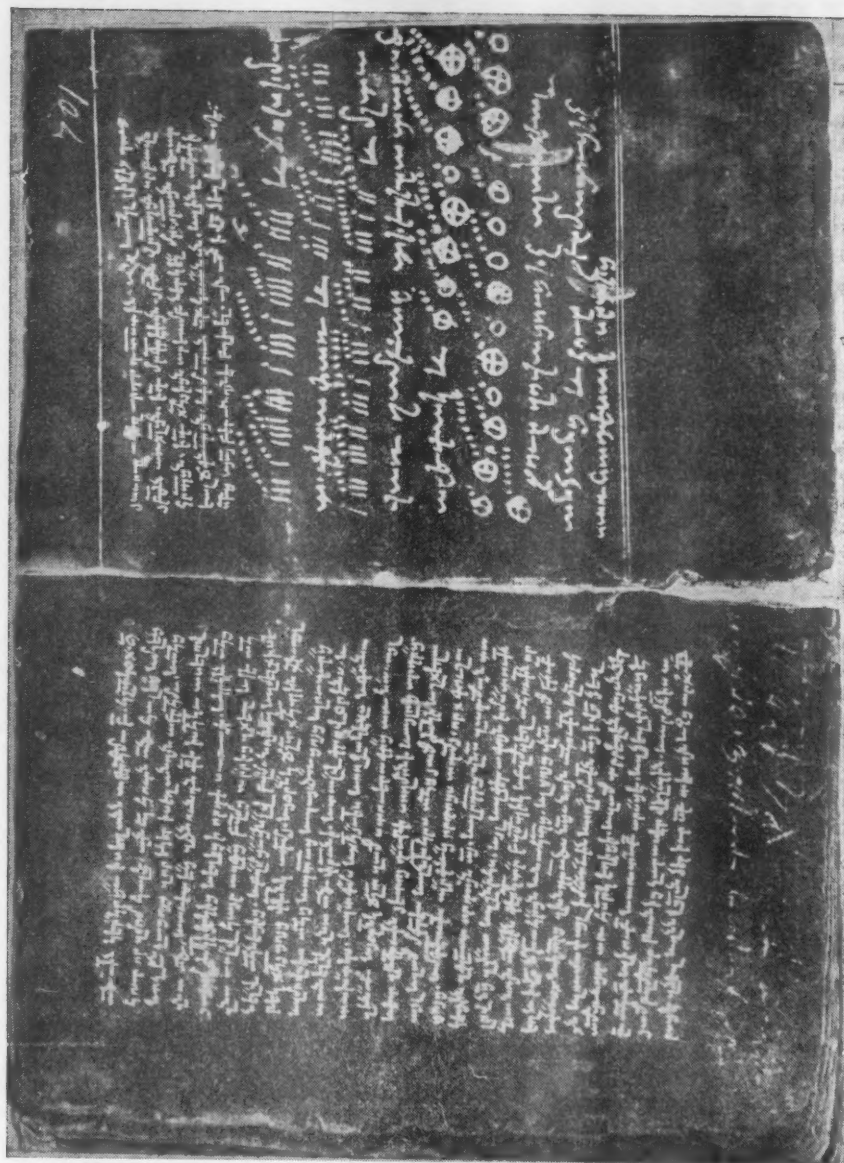
2. Manuscript (1) uses six different sets of ciphers, two consisting of signs of the Armenian alphabet combined with dots, or with one another, respectively, the others being symbols without connection with Armenian script, again accompanied by dots. In spite of the very short context (almost each word enciphered is written in a different set of signs, there is no problem of decipherment whatsoever since the cipher symbols used are all accompanied by their clear equivalents. At first glance it becomes obvious that all systems employed are based on simple substitution: the two a's in awantsi, e. g., are rendered by identical signs; the same applies to *zmeghay-part*<sup>2</sup> where a different set of symbols is used. The fact that in all ciphers employed the symbol for *a* is a very simple sign without the addition of any dots strongly suggests that the systems of substituted symbols are built up in the order of the alphabet.

3. We shall begin our analysis with the first four ciphers containing symbols in no way formally connected with signs of the Armenian script.

The Armenian alphabet, consisting of 36 signs (not counting o and f), is most con-

<sup>1</sup> Ջաքարիայ Աւանցի:

<sup>2</sup> Մեղայարտ:



ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT SHARAKAN OF XVII CENTURY IN  
KURDIAN COLLECTION WITH ARMENIAN CRYPTOGRAPHY

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veniently arranged in a 3 x 12, 4 x 9, or 6 x 6 roster. The symbols used for enciphering *zcaghkoghs*,<sup>3</sup> consisting of 1-4 vertical strokes and 0-8 dots, lead us to assume a 4 x 9 roster for this enciphering system. Since z, the sixth letter of the alphabet, shares with a, the first, the vertical stroke and is differentiated from it by the addition of five dots, we conclude that the four horizontal lines of the 4 x 9 roster are marked by strokes, while the nine columns are marked by 0-8 dots. Entering the remaining signs of *zcaghkoghs* into the roster confirms this analysis:

Nr. of dots	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Nr. of lines									
1	a	-	-	-	-	z	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	c	k	-	-	gh
3	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-
4	-	s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

In the first three enciphering systems used in ms. (1) we notice that the number of dots ranges from 0-3, while there are 5-8 basic signs employed. This indicates that in a 4 x 9 roster the columns are marked by individual signs, while the horizontal lines are signaled by dots. We get the following roster from the analysis of *zmegh-aypart* and the first occurrence of *zakaria*:

Nr. of dots:  
Signs:

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	a	-	-	-	e	z	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	gh
2	-	m	y	-	-	-	-	p	-
3	-	-	-	t	r	-	-	-	k

Since the signs used seem entirely arbitrary, the seventh column cannot be filled in. The same arbitrariness prevents us from establishing the full roster for the system employed in enciphering the second *zakaria*; the roster used for *awantsi*, however, can be described: the symbols used for marking the columns are clearly the 'Arabic' ciphers, of which 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 occur with a varying number of dots.

4. Of the remaining two ciphers of ms. (1), which make use of signs of the Armenian alphabet, one employs the same roster as the previous ciphers; it is actually identical with the first cipher described except that it does not use an increasing number of vertical strokes to mark the horizontal lines of the roster, but rather the first tenth, nineteenth, and twenty-eight signs of the alphabet itself. Position within a particular lines of the roster is again marked by the addition of dots. It seems conceivable that we are dealing here with a system which makes use of the numerical value of the Armenian letters, so that *a* in the first line would rather be a signal for 'digits', *z* in the second for 'tens', etc.

5. Such use of the numerical values is clearly found in the last cipher to be discussed from this manuscript. Here we see *k* - 60 written as *ll* - 30-30, *gh* - 90 as *xc* 40-50, *z* - 6 as *gg* - 3-3. The higher numbers are expressed as products: *m* - 200 as *bc* - 2.100, *o* - 600 as *zc* - 6.100, *s* - 2,000 as *br* - 2.1,000. This cipher, then, is

<sup>3</sup> Մաղկոց:

the only one radically different from those discussed so far, inasmuch as it does not utilize the description of the position within a roster for the identification of a symbol. It shares, however, with the other ciphers the technique of simple substitution without suppression of high letter frequencies and the adherence to the sequence of signs in the Armenian alphabet. None of these ciphers would, therefore, offer a serious difficulty for decipherment; it is highly unlikely that these ciphers were ever used for any purpose but that of adding a certain secret air to the performance of a scribe writing a manuscript. These ciphers are, then, on one level with those frequently found in medieval manuscripts of the West, where a scribe would add a few words of his own, replacing each vowel by the subsequent consonant.

6. Under these circumstances, it would not have been impossible to decipher the cryptographic passages in ms. (2) even without the help of the information gained from ms. (1). However, our work is greatly facilitated by the keys given there.

Ms. (3) contains a running text mixed of clear passages and passages in two ciphers, one of which closely resembles the first one discussed in this paper. It is, however, not quite identical with it; the columns are marked here by 1-9 dots, while with the first cipher we had 0-8 dots. The second cipher of ms. (2) again uses 1-9 dots; the horizontal lines in the roster are marked by plain circle, circle with vertical line, circle with vertical line and stroke to the right, and circle with cross (in this order). The text

then reads (words in italics are enciphered in the original):

*Perjapariw ew jox imast. gerapar ew medzaroy. anshi janeli jah ew matavar ghambar tiezerataradz aregak ew xusaptsrich xawareal mtats ew hur zovatgutsich paskyal anjants ew hur jermatsutsich sarnatesak srtats.* (4)

The following mistakes in enciphering have occurred: In *perjapariw* instead of *perjapasiw* four instead of three strokes were written; in *medzaroy* instead of *medzargoy* a sign was left out; in *xusaptscrij* a greater confusion has arisen. H. Kurdian corrects the latter form to *xusapetsoutsich*.

The text then is to be translated as follows:

*"Gloriously honored and splendid Mind, of high dignity and greatly respected,*

*unextinguishable torch and everlit lamp,*

*sun of the universe and preventer of obscure thoughts,*

*water refreshing thirsty beings, and fire warming icelike hearts."*

Why this text, evidently a hymn in praise of God, should have needed encipherment remains obscure to me; the only explanation I would venture is the one suggested at the end of paragraph 5.

<sup>4</sup> Գաղտնագրութեան պարզումը: ՊԵՐՃԱՊԱՐԻՎ (կարգա պերճապարհ) եւ ՋԵՐԱՐՈՅ (գերապարհ) ԱՆՇԻՋԱՆԵԼԻ ՋԱՆ եւ ՄՇՈՒՄԱՐԱԶ ԳԱՄԲԱՐ տիեզերատարած արեգակ եւ ԽՍԱՊՏՐԻՉ (խուսափեցող) ԽԱՐԵԱԼ ՄՏԱՏ գուր զովացուցիչ պատգեալ անձանց եւ ԽՈՐ ջերմացուցիչ սառնաստեան պրտաց:

Միայն ստորագեծեալ ժամերը գաղտնագրեալ են:





# JOHN TORIGIAN— LABORATORY WIZARD

CARMEN KLUDJIAN

One of the foremost laboratories in the nation is run by John Torigian. A soft-spoken, mild-mannered man of 62, not given much to discussing past or present achievements, he builds the health of the world in his own way.

His own way can be anything in the Torigian Laboratories from inventing the multi-shaped machines to charting the scientific operations from start to finish.

Mr. Torigian is a heavy set man, grayed and balding. This was not always so as seen from a picture in his office of him and forty other chemists posed with President Hoover outside the White House. He might easily be taken for an editor of a small town daily, but an affable editor bent over his desk and peering through his unframed glasses at formulas instead of copy.

The office, where John Torigian plots the doom of many germs, is plain almost clinical save for a painting by his daughter, some citations, a diploma written in Arabic from the University of Constantinople and a handy colored snapshot of his three grandchildren.

Behind the desk hangs a favorite reminder lettered in fine script and given to him as a gift by an artist friend, Minas Minasian. It is an excerpt from the work of Maimonides, a famous Doctor in Spain, "O stand by me my God in this truly important task. Grant me success! For — Inspire me with true love for this my art."

John Torigian has always obeyed the precepts of his motto. He approaches each

task with vigor and a desire to serve the cause of health.

The Torigian Laboratory is idyllically set in a suburb of New York City, Queens Village, Long Island, where it escapes from the plague of dust and grime. It is housed in an artfully constructed modern edifice painted immaculately white and surrounded by trimly assorted shrubbery, thus giving the whole place an air of grandeur. This custom-made laboratory, which belies its ten years, was designed by Manoog A. Exerjian, who blueprinted the functional interior to fit the schemes of his client.

The laboratory is considered as a highly specialized kind in the pharmaceutical line and its products are used in the United States and all over the world. It is the sixth largest in the country producing nearly 650 different items ranging from simple vitamin to complex hormone shots in injectible form. The some 650 formulas for these injections are developed in the laboratory by Mr. Torigian who is assisted by three specially trained chemists in addition to drawing on a staff of many technicians.

Mr. Torigian tackles his problems with the creativeness of an artist and the laboratory is his studio. If the right instruments are not available, he will invent them. Harnessing the powers of a rich imagination, he has often devised original answers to complicated projects.

Some of the contrivances lying about the stark rooms filled with vials, drugs and machinery first germinated with him so that

little of the equipment in his laboratory can be found anywhere else. "Daisy" is one of them. An automatic washing machine patterned like the flower, it cleans one-hundred glass tubes at once.

As an inventor Mr. Torigian to date holds patents of more than twelve medicinal products and several machines producing pharmaceutical products. His latest patented product is a Drop Applicator which is used for ophthalmic medicinals as well as other products applied or used by drops.

The inventor-at-large is actively associated in the chemical brotherhood. The two main sources he has tapped for nearly three decades are the American Chemical Society and the American Pharmaceutical Association. He has contributed his knowledge to many pharmaceutical books which are regularly consulted in the profession.

Mr. Torigian was one of the founders in 1926 of the Armenian Scientific Association of America, now largely dormant but which at one time boasted names like Professor Sevag of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Packjianian, Professor of Bacteriology of the University of Texas, Major Nalbandian, Dr. Parounagian, and other men of science. As a diversion from his scientific pursuits, he chartered the Rotary Club in Queens Village, where he has his home, and has served as Chairman of the International Relations Committee since 1946.

Ohannes Torigian was the son of Hagop Torigian, an enterprising man who carried on a thriving silk-worm industry in the town of Brussa, Turkey. The elder Torigian, an expert in this field, was one of the first graduates of the Technical School of Brussa where he studied under Dr. Torkomian, Director of the Institute. Ohannes was one of nine children. When the proper time came, he was sent to Garbedian College for training in business and languages. He then entered the University of Constantinople. He emerged from there a full-fledged chemist.



JOHN TORIGIAN

Next, after finishing Officers Reserve School, he went straight to the Crimea during World War I as a First Lieutenant in the Turkish Army. This temporary career gave him a well-rounded view of the Middle East. He travelled to Derzor, Damascus and the Jerusalem Front. After the armistice of World War I, he served as chief chemist in the Lord Mayor's Fund Hospital at Aleppo. Afterwards he returned to Constantinople, married and a short time later, with his wife, son and daughter came to the United States.

In 1923 he was the chief chemist and resident manager in a well-known pharmaceutical company on Long Island. In 1936 Mr. Torigian branched out into his own firm of which he is President and General Manager.

Today he, carrying on very much in the family tradition, has not only built a successful enterprise but has, above all, held steadfast to the ideals of his 'important task.'

# THE OUTCOME OF THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

RITA JERREHIAN

The settlement at the Congress of Berlin did not solve the Eastern question but merely postponed its solution. Although the terms that Russia had dictated to Turkey in the Treaty of San Stefano had been harsh, it would have been better for Great Britain and for the subject populations in the European provinces of the Empire if the Powers had not intervened to soften them, and far better for the Armenians. In the opinion of Dr. George Washburn, the Treaty of Berlin was "one of the most important events of the nineteenth century in European history, but it was not made in the interest of anyone in the Turkish Empire. Each Power sought only to further its own interests and ambitions, and for the people chiefly concerned the result has been a succession of wars, revolutions, and massacres."<sup>1</sup>

Despite the more favorable peace terms granted by the Berlin Congress, the Turkish Empire had emerged from the Russo-Turkish War in an advanced stage of external and internal decay. Both the British government and the Turkish Sultan were deeply concerned with the problem of putting off the inevitable collapse as long as possible. Great Britain had formulated a program for the security and regeneration of the Turkish Empire. The Cyprus Convention which had already been concluded would provide a military guarantee

of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey against future Russian aggression. It was hoped that Austria would agree to guarantee Turkey's European frontiers. Great Britain had also drawn up schemes for internal reform which by promoting efficiency, internal order, and prosperity in the Empire would eliminate any provocation for Russian attack or any need for future European interference. Sultan Abdul Hamid, however, had conceived his own plan for protecting and strengthening the Turkish Empire. He would accomplish this end by gradually restricting the influence of the very Christian elements whose presence and position necessitated reforms, had given rise to European intervention in the past, and would serve as a pretext for future interference in Turkish affairs. Relying on the insincerity of the Powers in their attitude toward the Armenians and on British fears of the danger of a war with Russia, Sultan Abdul Hamid planned to undertake a policy of systematic reprisals against the Armenians to be executed by the fanatic Kurdish tribes in hopes that the two subject races would destroy each other. His solution to the Armenian question was the gradual extermination of the Armenians.

The years 1878 to 1909 marked the Hamidian era of the Armenian question. The period was characterized by the failure of the Powers to see that reforms were carried out, by unrest in Turkey evidenced by the revolutionary movements among the Ar-

<sup>1</sup> *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, New York, 1909, p. 133.

menians and the Young Turks in reaction to the non-execution of reforms, and finally by organized massacres of the Armenians brought on by Turkish irritation at European demands and Turkish fear of the unrest. Essential modifications in the respective policies of the Great Powers, the Armenians, and the Turkish government during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid seriously affected the prospects of remedying the original mistake made at the Congress of Berlin in raising the Armenian question as an international issue.

Promises of reforms in the European and Asiatic dominions had been exacted from Turkey at the International Congress of Berlin. In view of the past Turkish laxity in devising and carrying out reforms and improvements, it was the responsibility of the Powers to compel Turkey to fulfill her international engagements; by her actions at Berlin regarding the Treaty of San Stefano and under the Cyprus Convention it was the special responsibility of Great Britain to see that measures for internal reforms and improvements were carried out by the Turkish Sultan in the Asiatic dominions of Turkey.

Great Britain and the Powers cannot be charged with absolute indifference towards their responsibilities. Correspondence between Great Britain and Turkey respecting reforms to be effected in Turkey in Asia began almost immediately after the termination of the Berlin Congress; from 1879 to 1883 the Powers sent notes demanding the implementation of the Turkish promises for reforms and improvements.

Desiring that there should be no delay in instituting better conditions in the Asiatic dominions of Turkey, Great Britain sent eight military consuls to Turkish Armenia and Asia Minor to keep the government informed on the state of the provinces and the situation of the Armenians, and instructed its ambassador at Constantinople,

Sir Henry Layard, to discuss the matter of reforms with the Turkish government.<sup>2</sup>

In a dispatch dated August 8, 1878 the British foreign office stated the view that the British ambassador should advise as to the character the Turkish policy should take, and requested information as to Turkish plans for dealing with the major problems of maintaining order, administering justice, and collecting revenues in a more equitable way in the provinces inhabited by the Armenians. The plan for the non-Asiatic dominions of Turkey had included the establishment of a European Commission for the determination of reforms and a Representative Assembly arrangement on the European model to ensure better administration. The Sultan was to formulate measures for reform by direct agreement with the Powers and was to apply these measures under the general supervision of the Powers. Great Britain felt the impracticality of this system as regards the Asiatic dominions. European institutions were alien to the customs and social concepts of the Mohammedan races. In addition, since the Christian subjects were few in number, were intermixed among the other peoples of the Empire, they would gain nothing by the establishment of such a system unless they received representation out of proportion to their population, an act which would only serve to increase the antagonism of the other subject races who greatly outnumbered the Christian minority. Great Power policy for reform in Asia therefore did not place much restriction on the freedom of the Turkish Sultan in the task of improving his administration. Under the Treaty of Berlin, the Sultan was permitted to work out and execute his own scheme of reform, which he was to report to the other Signatories, who, if they wished, could superintend its application. Under the Cyprus Con-

<sup>2</sup> H. Pasdermadjian, *Histoire de l'Arménie depuis les origines jusqu'au traité de Lausanne*, Paris, 1949, pp. 365-66.

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vention, the Sultan and the British government were to consult on the exact nature of these reforms.

The suggestions of the British foreign office included the establishment of an effective gendarmerie to be organized and officered by Europeans; the setting up of tribunals of appeal in the larger Asiatic cities to which would be attached European jurists having the right of veto on the courts judgments; changes in the system of land revenues involving the abolition of tithe farming and the appointment of collectors accountable for the revenues; and the selection of able and honest governors for the provinces for a definite term but subject to removal.<sup>3</sup>

The Turkish reply to the British program as communicated to the British foreign office in a dispatch dated August 21, 1878 was a vague acceptance on principle accompanied by an exposition of the difficulties which would stand in the way of successful implementation. Measures concerning the gendarmerie had been devised and had been partly carried out, but lack of funds hindered full execution. It would be difficult to find Turkish judges who were not fanatical or corrupt. Knowledge of the Turkish language and of the laws and customs of Turkey was a combination unlikely to be found in a European legalist and an indispensable requirement if justice was to be administered. Turkish objections to the employment of foreigners presented obstacles. The abolition of the tithe system would be acceptable if there was a substitution of another system of land revenue. However there were no adequate land surveys and therefore no basis for a fixed rent or tax. As in the case of judges, great difficulty existed in the recruitment of competent and incorruptible governors; both

were irremovable according to the Turkish Constitution.<sup>4</sup>

In a dispatch dated October 24, 1878, Sir Henry Layard commented on the existence of a strong party in the government which advocated great resistance to any foreign intervention into the internal affairs of the Empire. The Porte, therefore, had qualified its agreement to the creation of a gendarmerie on the European model to be organized by European officers, by insisting that it be adapted to fit Turkish conditions and that there should be no violation of the sovereign rights of the Sultan. Although the Turkish Sultan could not permit the European officers to command the gendarmerie, asking that they be removed once organization had been accomplished, he had suggested that foreign officers could have a place on the Central Council which would administer the gendarmerie. The Porte declared its intention of reforming the judicial system and the organization of the tribunals. The Porte could not allow the appointment to every tribunal of a foreign judge whose consent would be necessary for every judgment. However, the Turkish government suggested the use of European judges as inspectors in the provinces to see to the administration of justice. New methods of land revenue would be tried in a few provinces to see if the abolition of tithe farming would be practicable. The governors, judges, and collectors would enjoy a fixed tenure, and could be dismissed if their conduct so warranted.<sup>5</sup>

The Turkish reply did not fully satisfy Lord Salisbury. However, its liberal tone and the reasonableness of its objections seemed to be a sign of Turkish interest in making plans for reforms and of Turkish

<sup>4</sup> Layard to Salisbury (enclosing copy of *note verbale*), *British and Foreign State Papers*, 69: 1319-25 (1877-78).

<sup>5</sup> Layard to Salisbury, *British and Foreign State Papers* 69: 1326.

<sup>3</sup> Salisbury to Layard, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 69: 1313-18 (1877-78).



willingness to take action in so far as she was able to carry the reforms out. The British foreign office therefore accepted the Turkish concessions <sup>6</sup> and sought to fulfill the Turkish request for a loan to help her to introduce the desired improvements. The prospects of British financial assistance, however, diminished with time. Both France, whom England had asked to co-operate in a joint offer, and Parliament refused to grant a loan to Turkey. With the loss of its financial weapon, British popularity and influence with the Porte declined. <sup>7</sup>

In November, 1879 Great Britain ordered the British fleet to Smyrna in the hopes that a naval demonstration would precipitate Turkish action in instituting and executing the reform program. The Turkish government, alarmed by the British order, renewed its promises, informed the British that it had sent Beker Pasha on a mission of reform, that Europeans would be permitted as inspectors and as officers in the gendarmerie, and that improvements be made. Once the British order was retracted, however, the Turks made no effort to give any effect to their promises.

The winter of 1879-80 was an especially difficult one. Reports of the military consuls were disheartening; the situation of the Armenians had steadily grown worse. England repeatedly pressed for reforms but to no avail.

The Powers were also aroused to the need for reminding Turkey of her international obligations under the Treaty of Berlin, and sent an Identical Note dated June 11, 1880 to the Porte. After calling the attention of Turkey to the treaty provisions regarding the settlement of the Turco-Greek and Montenegro frontiers which had not

been carried out, the Powers then cited Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, demanding its full execution without further delay. The Powers charged Turkey with failure to report on what had been done to meet the terms of Article 61 and to take any steps to provide for Great Power supervision. Turkey was warned that the Powers could not allow the deplorable state of the Armenian provinces as reported by their consular agents to continue. It was the unanimous opinion of the Powers that the interests of Europe as well as those of the Turkish Empire demanded that the Berlin article for Armenian security and reforms be carried out, and that only joint persistent action would result in its execution. <sup>8</sup>

The Turkish government's reply of July 5, 1880 attempted to reassure the Powers that Turkey had taken some measures to meet the stipulations of Article 61 despite the great difficulties facing her. Able officials had been sent to Kurdistan and to other *vilayets* to study ways to guarantee the security of the subjects of the Empire, and to teach them to protect themselves as far as they were able under local jurisdiction. Decrees for the reorganization of tribunals had been passed. Plans for experiments regarding the introduction of a new land revenue system had been formed. Some administrative changes had been made. The proposed organization of the gendarmerie and the Assize Courts was discussed in some detail. <sup>9</sup>

The cleverly worded Turkish reply em-

<sup>6</sup> Goschen to Granville, June 15, 1880 (enclosure Goschen to Abedine Pasha, June 11, 1880), *British and Foreign State Papers*, 72: 1196-97. The French ambassador, M. Tissot, was responsible for the last part of the Identical Note which was adopted without exception by all the ambassadors. Lord Granville replaced Lord Salisbury as Foreign Minister in May 1880 when William Gladstone assumed leadership, Mr. Goschen replacing Sir Henry Layard as Ambassador in Constantinople.

<sup>9</sup> Goschen to Granville, July 6, 1880 (reply of Abedine Pasha to Goschen, July 5, 1880), *Ibid.*, 72: 1197-1200.

<sup>6</sup> Salisbury to Layard, December 4, 1878, *Ibid.*, 69: 1338.

<sup>7</sup> W. N. Medlicott, *The Congress of Berlin and After: A Diplomatic History of the Near East Settlement 1878-1880*, London, 1938, pp. 302-03.

phasized the regulations which were to be put into effect and evaded mention of what had been done in special regard for the Armenians. It attempted to create the impression that the Turkish government was proceeding with the reforms under difficult conditions but with good intentions, and that the Porte was unfairly censured for the focus of the grievances in the Armenian provinces. The reply accused the Armenians of inventing imaginary crimes in addition to protesting those offenses which are a natural occurrence in communities everywhere. Included also in the reply was a statement of the population percentages of the Armenians and other Christians in several of the provinces.

Special consular reports in response to the request of Lord Granville, however, proved the falsity of the Ottoman assertions. No action had been taken by the Commissions. No real improvements had been made in the tithe and tax collection system nor in the gendarmerie. As for "imaginary crimes," only those crimes for which considerable proof existed had been reported by the Consuls. All the consular reports commented on the confusion and disorder in the administration in Constantinople; central reform was a prerequisite if effect were to be given to reforms in the provinces. Many essential reforms had not even been taken into consideration by the Turkish government. And the Turkish census figures could not be accepted as accurate.<sup>10</sup>

On September 11, 1880 the Powers sent another Collective Note (dated September 7, 1880) to the Porte declaring their dissatisfaction with the Turkish reply to their protests. In the note, the Powers pointed out the reforms which were indispensable if the obligations of Article 61 were to be fulfilled but which the Porte had not seriously taken into account, and stressed the

necessity of adequate measures for the effective protection of the Armenians from Kurdish and Circassian attacks and for the satisfaction of the local requirements of the Armenian provinces. The Powers suggested that an impartial Commission take a census of the population since the Armenian percentage quoted by the Turkish note differed radically from that of other sources, and that the Porte accept the new census as a basis for reorganizing the provinces geographically to meet the local needs more efficiently and effectively.

The Powers warned that the delay in reorganization caused by the taking of the census would not justify Turkish failure to carry out immediately those measures considered by the Powers as absolutely necessary and urgent. These included reforms to guarantee the life and property of the Armenians, measures to prevent raids by the Kurds and Circassians, execution of the system of finance proposed by the Powers, a more satisfactory temporary organization of the gendarmerie, and fixed tenure and increased responsibility for the governors. The Note concluded with the reminder that "the reforms to be introduced into the provinces inhabited by the Armenians are, by Treaty engagements, to be adapted to local wants, and to be carried out under the supervision of the Powers."<sup>11</sup>

The forceful language of the Great Power Note raised the aspirations of the Christian populations, but seemed to make no impression on the Porte which apparently did not fear European intervention to execute Article 61 in the event of Turkish inability or unwillingness to carry out the European demands. It is not certain that the proposed plan of the Powers would have worked. It is evident, however, that deeds and not words would have provided the solution. The stipulations of Article 61 had

<sup>10</sup> Consular reports of Wilson, Bennett, Chermiside, Trotter, Stewart, Clayton, Everett, and Bilotti are found in *Blue Book, Turkey* No. 6, 1881.

<sup>11</sup> Goschen to Granville (enclosure Collective Note addressed to the Porte, September 7, 1880), *British and Foreign State Papers*, 79: 1200-07.

not been executed. It is of little importance whether this was because of Turkish indolence or perversity. Execution would occur only if the Powers ceased to remind Turkey of her treaty obligations and made a unanimous decision to act to compel Turkish fulfillment.

The new plan suggested by the Great Powers, however, was never adopted. The Powers had received an evasive reply to the Identical Note of June 11, 1880; they were to receive no reply to the Collective Note of September 7, 1880. Disregarding the censures made by the Powers and avoiding any mention of the proposed plan for reforms, Turkey informed the Powers on October 3, 1880 that inspectors had been sent to the Armenian provinces.<sup>12</sup> The Turkish document made no reference to the Collective Note. It was a mere notification to the Powers of what Turkey intended to do in carrying out Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin. The aggressive attitude of the Turkish government underlay the document. Turkey would make her own reforms and carry them out in her own way. The Powers, however, made no protest, being concerned with other pressing aspects of the Eastern question.

In the meantime the condition of the Armenian provinces grew worse in every way. At the end of the year 1880, one British consul wrote:

If a year ago, there were little security for life and property, now there is still less; if there was poverty, it is still greater; if there was injustice so there is at present; while the crimes of oppression and corruption have increased proportionately with the impoverished state of the Empire.<sup>13</sup>

On January 12, 1881 a British Circular was sent to the Powers calling their attention to the Armenian situation and asking

that a collective diplomatic remonstrance be made by their Ambassadors at Constantinople. Russia and Italy agreed to cooperate if all six Powers signatory to the Treaty of Berlin consented to join in making the representations to the Porte. Austria agreed to call the attention of the Porte to the question although she refused to take part in a collective protest. France asked for a British reconsideration of the plan in view of Germany's opinion that the Greek question should be settled first.<sup>14</sup> Bringing up the Armenian question, Prince Bismarck had stated, would merely complicate the settlement of the Greek frontier: "When the Greek question is over, then will be the moment to begin the Armenian question." The German reply was influenced in part by political reasons for opposing the improvement of the Armenian situation. However, G. Rolin-Jacquemyns in one of a series of articles on "Armenia, the Armenians, and Treaties," observes that as a consequence of the German statement "Turkey was in some degree encouraged to lend herself with the greatest possible reluctance to the execution of Article 61 relating to the Armenian provinces."<sup>15</sup> As a direct result of the French and German attitudes, further collective action by the Powers in behalf of the Armenians was put off indefinitely. The next fifteen years were to be a period of inaction on the part of the Powers as regards the Armenian question.

The policies of the Great Powers towards Turkey during the period 1880 to 1895 influenced their attitude towards the Armenian question. France had material interests in Turkey. Austria-Hungary, weakened by national movements within her borders, now seemed content to uphold Turkish integrity. Germany under Bismarck,

<sup>12</sup> Text of the Turkish Note on Reforms is found in the telegram from Goschen to Granville, October 4, 1880, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 79: 289-96.

<sup>13</sup> Dispatch from Captain Everett, December 16, 1880, *Blue Book*, Turkey, No. 6 (1881), p. 294.

<sup>14</sup> J. Missakian, *A Searchlight on the Armenian Question*, Boston, 1950, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> *The Armenian Herald*, 1: 493 (August 1918).

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the champion of the oppressor as against the oppressed, displayed a lack of interest in the Armenian question, and attempted to maintain the balance of power in the Near East until Germany was ready in 1890 to pursue her own Near Eastern policy.<sup>16</sup> The major characteristic of the period was the change in the respective policies of Great Britain and Russia.

Until 1881 Russia had been the friend of the Armenians. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the Russian-Armenian statesman, Count Loris Melikov, had proposed a plan for the establishment of an independent Armenian state made up of the Armenian territory divided among Russia, Asiatic Turkey, and Persia. With the ascent of Alexander III to the throne, however, Melikov was dismissed and the Armenian project was censored.<sup>17</sup> The autocratic system was reaffirmed; the reactionary Tsar undertook a policy of Russification of the minorities. The Armenian ecclesiastic seat was in Etchmiadzin in Russian Armenia; its asserted jurisdiction extended to all the Armenians. Russia had therefore concerned herself with the protection of all the Armenians, and had allowed Russia-Armenian propaganda to stir up activity in Turkish Armenia. The carrying out of reforms in the Armenian provinces of Turkey, however, represented to the new Tsar a movement for autonomy that would lead to the creation of an independent Armenian state; the Armenian subjects of Russia, especially those in the Caucasian area, might be encouraged by the example of their neighbors to revolt against the despotism of the new Tsar. Thus, by a change in the rule of Russia, a new orientation was given to Russian policy towards Turkish reforms.

<sup>16</sup> With the dismissal of Bismarck in 1890, Kaiser William II took over the control of the foreign relations of Germany and conducted a foreign policy of extending German influence in the Near East.

<sup>17</sup> A. Lobanov-Rostovsky, *Russia and Asia*, New York, 1933, p. 202.

In Great Britain, also, a change in government was to modify policy. Under the leadership of Disraeli, England had been primarily interested in trying to maintain the Ottoman Empire as a necessary evil. Under the guidance of Gladstone who took over the control of the government in May, 1880, England looked for a substitute solution of the Eastern question and gave more attention to the problem of gaining improvements and reforms for the Armenians.

Now that Great Britain was ready to help the Armenians, Russia and Germany stood in the way. Russia, who had once pressed for reforms, assumed a passive attitude; and Germany requested that the matter be dropped. After 1881 British consular reports ceased to mention the Armenians. In 1882 the British occupation of Egypt took place, and British policy was diverted from the question of reforms in Turkey. By 1883 it was apparent that the Powers had given up the attempt to secure their demands for reforms.

The indifference of the Great Powers stimulated the establishment of revolutionary groups in Tiflis and in the European capitals which circulated pamphlets and newspapers in an attempt to attract Great Power interest. By spreading propaganda in Turkish Armenia these secret societies tried to provoke incidents in Turkey which would cause Turkish reprisals and bring on European intervention.<sup>18</sup>

Periodic massacres had been the favorite Turkish weapon in dealing with the social grievances of the Armenians. The terrible conditions continued and the Armenian masses endured their position, hoping that the promised reforms would someday be granted. It was inevitable that individual revolutionaries, however, should have arisen in protest. The novelist Raffi was perhaps the single most influential figure in promot-

<sup>18</sup> *Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern Affairs 1922-23*, Turkey No. 1 (1923), p. 199.

ing the idea of an Armenian revolutionary movement. Patriotic societies came into existence. In Erzeroum, "The Defenders of the Fatherland" was established to arm the people in secret in an effort to prepare the masses for participation in the event of an European struggle to obtain the reforms from Turkey. Learning of the existence of this organization, the Turkish government made numerous arrests, and the first political trial of the Armenians took place. In Van, a similar society was formed; the government exiled its leader. The Armenians accused of conspiracy as a nation by Turkey were forced into conspiracy.<sup>19</sup>

According to Paul Cambos, the French Ambassador in Constantinople, it was not until the mid-eighties that the Armenian question as a nationalist movement for independence came to the attention of Europe.<sup>20</sup> These ideas were disseminated by the revolutionary committees which were formed in Europe and in Russia. In 1887 Armenian students in Europe, influenced by Russian and German Social Democratic Parties, organized the Hunchak Party whose aim was to emancipate Armenia by revolutionary means. Other noteworthy revolutionary bands aiming at the liberation of Turkish Armenia were the student groups in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Cells sprang up in Erivan, Baku, Moush, and Constantinople; directed by Armenians outside of Turkey, these cells succeeded merely in antagonizing the Turks by their demonstrations.

Until 1889-90 the Armenian peasantry had endured the oppressions of the Kurdish tribes and the Turkish officials. The Mousa Bey incident in 1888, however, was to mark a breaking-point in the Armenian attitude. The entire Armenian peasantry of

the Plain of Moush arose to protest the kidnapping of Giulizar, an Armenian girl, by the notorious Kurdish tribesman, Mousa Bey. Formal representations were made in Constantinople. In response to the Armenian demands for punishment of the Kurdish criminal, a trial was held; the trial, however, was to result in the acquittal of Mousa Bey.<sup>21</sup> They Turks had finally driven the Armenians beyond the point of passive submission. Similar outrages elsewhere in Turkish Armenia evoked Armenian protests and resistance, and retaliatory acts and popular demonstrations by the Armenians began to occur.

The Sultan now regarded the Armenians with increased suspicion and hostility. Up to his time, the government had followed the policy of gradually depopulating the country of the Armenians. The persecutions of the Armenians were now intensified. Arrests, imprisonments, and executions of intellectuals were made in an effort to stamp out revolutionary tendencies in these groups and to terrorize the peasants. In addition, irregular troops, called Hamidieh, were recruited from the Kurds and allowed to commit murders and robberies in the Armenian provinces with complete impunity.<sup>22</sup>

Coming to the defense of the helpless peasantry, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation was founded in 1890 to organize the Armenians in armed self-protection from the raids and depredations of the Kurds and Turks, and to achieve some degree of political and economic freedom for Turkish Armenia. It was by this organization, formed by the fusion of several revolutionary groups<sup>23</sup> that the principles of self-salvation and solidarity were introduced. Self-respect, courage, self-reliance

<sup>19</sup> Simon Vratzian, "The Armenian Revolution and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation," *The Armenian Review*, 3: 12 (Autumn 1950).

<sup>20</sup> Report of February 20, 1894, *Livre Jaune* 1893-97, Paris, 1897, No. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Vratzian, p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Andre Mandelstam, *La Societe des Nations et les Puissances devant le probleme armenien*, Paris, 1926, p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> Hence the name Dashnaktzootune or "federation."

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were taught to the meek, down-trodden, spiritless Armenians who had up to this time hoped that the Christian nations would come to their rescue.<sup>24</sup>

From 1890 on there were continuous disturbances in the Armenian areas. On February 2, 1890 the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople made a formal protest concerning the conditions of the Armenians in the provinces. Then, the Armenian revolutionaries came to the aid of the peasants. The clashes between the Armenians and the Turks and Kurds assumed greater and greater proportions, culminating in the Sassoun massacre of August, 1894. The Kurds had attacked the Armenians in this mountainous region following an Armenian refusal to pay illegal tributes to the Kurds. The Armenians could not pay both the Kurds and the Turks, and therefore resisted the Kurdish demands. The Kurds who had been armed by the Turks since the establishment of the Hamidieh regiments were nevertheless forced to call upon Turkish regular troops to help them in suppressing the Armenian population. One fourth of the Armenian population of Sassoun was exterminated in this prelude to the organized Armenian massacres of 1894-96.<sup>25</sup>

European indignation at last aroused, the Powers presented a new plan for reforms on May 11, 1895. Turkey had attempted to plead that the massacres had been brought on by an Armenian revolt against Turkey, but an on-the-spot inquiry conducted by representatives of England, France, and

Russia refuted the Turkish claims.<sup>26</sup> Finally, on October 20, 1895, the Sultan issued an edict of reforms in which he accepted with a few alterations the project outlined by the Powers for the supervision of reforms for the Armenians. No pressure was exerted by the Powers to see that the reforms of the edict were actually executed, however. European diplomacy was divided due to the complex structure of alliances.<sup>27</sup> The governments of Russia and Germany openly supported the Turkish Sultan. Lord Rosebery who had succeeded Gladstone as British prime minister in March, 1894 and who was to be replaced by Lord Salisbury in June, 1895, had suggested the use of joint pressure. Ignoring the advice of the German minister, the Austrian minister recommended international naval action. The French wished to avoid taking any action. Germany, seeking concessions from Turkey, opposed the idea of reforms in Turkey. Italy supported England. Russia, however, was concerned over the Armenians in the Transcaucasus and wished to maintain amicable relations with Turkey. She gave mild backing to the program and did not urge the execution of the reforms, but fol-

<sup>26</sup> *Correspondence concerning the events of Sassoun and the Procès-verbaux of the Commission of Inquiry*, Turkey No. 1 (1895).

<sup>27</sup> The Alliance Treaty between Germany and Austria of October 7, 1879 was the foundation stone of Bismarck's alliance system and was directed against Russia. From 1881 to 1887 Russia was included in the Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was concluded on May 20, 1882. In June, 1887 a secret Russo-German Reinsurance Treaty replaced the Alliance of the Three Emperors, an effort by Bismarck to keep Russia apart from France. In December, 1887 the Near Eastern Entente was formed by England, Austria, and Italy. German rejection of renewal of the Reinsurance Treaty, the premature renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1891, and the demonstration of Anglo-German solidarity brought on the Franco-Russian Agreement of 1894. Anglo-German relations, however, deteriorated. There was a Franco-Italian Entente in 1899, an Anglo-French Entente in 1904, and an Anglo-Russian Entente in 1907. 1907 witnessed a further renewal of the Triple Alliance. The Powers thus could not intervene in the Near East during the Hamidian era without risking the possibility of a general European war.

<sup>24</sup> The Armenian revolutionary movement lasted until the first few years of the Twentieth Century. Then the Armenians joined forces with the Young Turks of the opposition and by their co-operation helped bring about the bloodless revolution of 1908 and an end, they hoped, to the intolerable conditions they had suffered under the Bloody Sultan. After the Constitutional period of 1908-1914, the movement was resumed and continued until the end of the First World War. (Vahan Cardashian, "The Armenian Revolutionary Federation," *The Armenian Review*, 2: 66 (Winter 1949-50).)

<sup>25</sup> Pasdermadjian, p. 384.

lowed a policy of non-intervention. The example provided by Bulgaria had largely determined her position.<sup>28</sup> Russia would not be disappointed by a Bulgarian Armenia.<sup>29</sup> She would not make the same mistake twice. As for the British, who had tried hard under Disraeli to reestablish Turkish sovereignty over the Balkan Slavs and had reversed their position under Gladstone to press for reforms for the Armenians, another change in government had occurred. The British fleet might have been a real threat to the Sultan. It would probably have been used independently had Gladstone been in office or jointly had his successor Lord Rosebery remained in power. Lord Salisbury, however, did not have the zeal for Armenian reform manifested by his predecessors, and due to the uncertainty of what French and Russian action would be, did not dare to venture alone. The commission of inquiry had been sent. Russia seemed adverse to any further development. Therefore, the Armenian reforms did not succeed. Great Power intervention had once more brought about a mere temporizing policy on the part of the Turkish Sultan. Nothing was to be done in the way of carrying out the reforms which the Powers demanded since these threats were unaccompanied by military force.

<sup>28</sup> By the Treaty of Berlin, Bulgaria became an autonomous state paying tribute to Turkey. Bulgaria owed her existence to Russia who had fought the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 because of the Bulgarian massacres. For several years Russian influence predominated, Russians occupying important positions in the Bulgarian ministry and in the newly organized Bulgarian army. Friction had developed, however, and in 1883 the Russian ministers were forced to resign. In 1885 the artificial arrangement by which Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria were separated was destroyed; Prince Alexander forced to choose between Russia, who was against the union, and his subjects, who were urging unification, made an open breach with Russia. Russia had been therefore disillusioned by events in Bulgaria and in the Balkans where there was great distrust of Russian motives, although Russia had been responsible for their emancipation.

<sup>29</sup> Pasdermajian, pp. 361-62.

Instead, the Sultan ordered the general massacres in order to punish the Armenians and to rid the country of this hated race which was provoking foreign intervention. Exciting the Moslem masses, and having organized the Kurds and providing them with arms, the Sultan embarked on a series of planned massacres which took place in particular in Van, Erzeroum, Kharput, Diarbekir, Trebizond, Bitlis, Marash, and wherever Armenians could be found in large numbers. Only in Zeitoun and in such places where the Armenian Revolutionary Federation maintained armed bands were the Armenians saved. Some 150,000 perished in the actual massacres of 1894, 1895 and 1896, and 100,000 more in the winter that followed the destruction of Armenian property, subjected to the ravages of the Turkish mobs. Armenia was further depopulated by the emigration of over 100,000 Armenians who sought refuge in Transcaucasia, the Balkans, and America. Forced conversions amounted to about 40,000. The total loss in the Armenian provinces was estimated to be 400,000 Armenians.<sup>30</sup>

European diplomacy did not come to the aid of the Armenians. Lord Salisbury stated regretfully that the British fleet would not be used; the Kaiser expressed an opinion that the Turkish Sultan should be permitted to deal with the subjects of his Empire as he wished; the Russians declared their confidence in the *bonne volonté* of the Sultan; the French bound by alliance ties to Russia did not wish to become involved in war by intervening in the name of humanity. From across the Atlantic, the United States showed concern for the Armenians but was reluctant to interfere in the affairs of Europe.<sup>31</sup>

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation decided that European intervention to force the execution of the May Reforms would

<sup>30</sup> Pasdermajian, p. 388.

<sup>31</sup> Diana Apar, *On the Cross of European Imperialism Armenia Crucified*, Yokohama, 1918, p. 20.

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come about only if European interests in Turkey were affected, and planned the seizure of the Ottoman Bank, an imperial institution whose stockholders and officers and many of the employees were Europeans. European intervention would be followed by reforms, they felt. The Bank was seized August 14, 1896 at noon. Meanwhile, the ambassadors of the Powers received the declaration of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. The Armenians threatened to blow up the building unless the following demands of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation were met: the appointment of a European High Commissioner for Armenia to be elected by the Powers; the appointment of governors and mayors by the Commissioner, to be confirmed by the Sultan; the establishment of a militia and gendarmerie recruited locally to which the Armenians would have access and which would be commanded by European officers; reforms in the judiciary and the administration of justice; freedom of religion, education, and press; the allocation of three-fifths of the country's revenues for local requirements.<sup>32</sup> Turkish soldiers fired on the Bank trying to clear it of the revolutionaries. The Sultan, however, was compelled to stop the attack under pressure from the Russian Dragoman, Maximov, who speaking for the ambassadors of the Powers at Constantinople, threatened naval action if any of the Europeans should be harmed.\* The revolutionaries were persuaded to leave the Bank and were promised free exit out of the country.

In the meantime, however, outbreaks occurred throughout the capital city leading to a great Armenian massacre lasting three

days in which thousands of innocent Armenians suffered. England was anxious to intervene but could not gain Russian support. The Nelidov proposal for Russian seizure of Constantinople in anticipation of British intervention was adopted by Russia, but was never implemented. Russia was unprepared for war, and her ally France was unwilling to risk a general conflict. A general European war had been threatened by Austria in the event of separate interference by any of the Powers. Europe, fearing that active interference on behalf of the Armenians would draw her into a costly struggle, decided that for the peace of Europe, the Ottoman Empire must stand, and allowed the Ottoman government to go unpunished.

The Ottoman Empire was destined, however, to collapse. 1896 to 1908 marked the revival of the Young Turk movement which in collaboration with the Armenians brought about the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution of July 23, 1908. Bulgarian independence was declared October 5, 1909 and on the following day Austria moved into Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Armenian massacres of the Hamidian era had not come to an end, however. On April 14 and April 27, 1909 at Adana the Armenians were once again slaughtered in great numbers. And again, England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia did not interfere to protect the Armenians, although their warships were lying in the harbor of nearby Mersina. In *Red Rugs of Tarsus*, Helen Davenport Gibbons records the events of Adana and condemns the Powers for their failure to take action, excusing only Russia upon whom the Treaty of Berlin had been imposed:

We see too — oh, so clearly how heartless and cynical the diplomats of Europe are. They are the cause, as much as the Turks, of the massacres. Not the foreign policy of Russia or Germany alone. As far as the Near East goes, the Great Powers are equally guilty. No distinction can be drawn between them.<sup>33</sup>

Russian policy as well as that of the other

<sup>32</sup> Vratzian, pp. 23-24.

\* The Powers persuaded the Sultan to accept the terms of the Revolutionaries and themselves guaranteed their execution, providing them free and safe exit from the land if they only agreed to abandon the Bank. This the Revolutionaries agreed to do.—ED. A. R.

Powers had been hypocritical. The Sultan had been encouraged to carry on his Armenian policy by his knowledge of the intense rivalry between Germany, Russia, and Great Britain. The dual outlook of the latter two Powers prevented the possibility of any joint action on behalf of the Armenians which would have assured the execution of the reforms that Germany was anxious to prevent. The control of the entire Asiatic map was the real issue. It was the humanitarian and political task of the Russian government to see that the Armenians were protected, the Armenian population of Russia exerting a great influence on Russian policy. Russian fears, however, were aroused by the Turkish Armenian revolutionary activity, for Russian policy also involved preventing any other Power from intervening in support of the Armenians, especially England. The extremely keen rivalry between Russia and England reached a great height during the 1890's in particular in the vulnerable zone of the Caucasus. Russia feared that this area which was inhabited by a large number of Armenians would yield in favor of the British if Great Britain protected the Armenians from persecution.

Russia had pressed for reforms until she realized that British policy no longer seemed to be one of maintaining Turkish integrity but one of dismembering the Empire. In a secret message of November 22, 1895 to the Russian ambassador in London, the Russian foreign minister, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky wrote:

According to certain confidential information which is reaching us, one is inclined to believe that Lord Salisbury is aiming at the final disruption of the Ottoman Empire. . . There is more. The British government is credited with the idea of establishing a European Condominium at Constantinople. . . One thing is clear to us, that this idea is directed against the most vital interests of Russia and that consequently if applied, it would inevitably lead to a confla-

gration, the incalculable gravity of which I need not stress to you.<sup>34</sup>

Having learned of the famous interview of August 5, 1895 at Cowes between Kaiser William II and Lord Salisbury in which the partition of Turkey was discussed, Russia anticipated a British protectorate or Western influence in Asia Minor although relations between Germany and England soon became aggravated. The Russian government therefore merely sponsored consular investigations and considered the reform proposal of 1895 as having a non-aggressive character.

The great railroad activities of the Powers had also disturbed Russia who regarded the concessions as threats to Russian security. Russia contracted an agreement with Turkey by which no further concessions, especially in Turkish Armenia, were to be granted without consultation with Russia.<sup>35</sup> Russian policy thus was affected by her fears of a British or Western protectorate, Turkish revolutionary activity, and foreign railroad activity. In her traditional desire to expand to the sea, Russia was influenced by these fears and exploited the Armenian question when it was of use to her, ignored it or evaded it when it proved dangerous.

Sultan Abdul Hamid II had played off the various Powers, England, Russia, and Germany in particular, against each other, favoring each at various times, in the meantime pursuing his policy of depopulating Turkey of the Armenians. On April 27, 1909, the Sultan was deposed bringing an official end to the Hamidian era of the Armenian question, but not to the Armenian question in Turkey. The Young Turks were to prove to be even more ruthless than the Sultan they had unseated.

<sup>34</sup> Baron Meyendorff, *Correspondence diplomatique du Baron de Staal*, II, 193 (Quoted by Lobanov-Rostovsky, p. 203).

<sup>35</sup> Lobanov-Rostovsky, p. 204. The secret agreement was made March 31, 1900.

<sup>33</sup> New York, 1917, p. 185.

## POPHAM BEACH—MAINE

PASCAL A. TCHAKMAKIAN

*Standing alone on the wet crest,  
my eyes resting on frothing waves,  
I could hear in this Titan's chest,  
the laments bellow'd in that grave.*

*My feet proudly upon the rocks,  
my face amidst the salty beads,  
fearlessly glared at the baroque  
shadows spread on the howling sea.*

*The tender words guiling the Earth  
with their tempting invocation,  
Shook my Soul and the Human girth  
of our worldly meditation.*

*The surface rippled, and the fog,  
mantle clothing that strangeness,  
by the hurling waves was flogged  
and flew as a Ghost in distress.*

*My soul held, in this gloomy place,  
dark caverns hissing in the night,  
the bosoms of a strange palace  
dwelled by Spirits or blinking Lights. . .*

*But I loved this monstrous power,  
licking the feet of the rocks, still,  
standing in the skies as towers  
resting on invisible sills,*

*While, musing over this devil,  
aside my thoughts of wanderer,  
I recalled these tongues of Evil  
also remained a Conqueror;*

*I heard. Yea! I heard the murmur  
of the millions who perish'd there,  
raising their voice amidst the purrs  
of the Sea's Choir full of shivers:*



*O! how many young or old sailors  
have, crossing the gates or the piers,  
smiled or hailed as ancient warriors,  
but never came back to their dears.*

*How many, having in the night set  
a muscled and mature body,  
now for centuries have slept  
on the cold bottoms of the sea?*

*How many, waving their calloused hands,  
sent from abroad a shining smile,  
to a wife watching from the land  
her lover go to cross the Miles?*

*How many young blossomed brides,  
newcomers in the world of Love,  
have waited in a lone alcove  
the Man they needed at their sides.*

*How many loving folks have not,  
yearning in the shadow of a room,  
jump'd and laugh'd when the sea begot  
the stout one smiling in the gloom?*

*How many, strolling on the sand,  
Shook their bones for a member  
not to be any more on the strand  
to share a glass in a corner?*

*And how many, 'midst mother or father,  
Young maidens or lonesome lovers  
have not, in the roars of a tempest,  
waded in the sea, . . . and slowly wept. . . ?*

# SOME NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF ARMENIAN STUDIES

DR. FIRUZ KAZEMZADEH  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

It is not my purpose here to inquire into the state of linguistic, literary or historical research in the Armenian field as a whole. Not being an Armenian scholar, though having worked in areas closely related to Armenia, I should like to point out a few aspects of Armenian studies which up to now have been almost completely neglected yet are of significance to the student of the Middle East in general.

Most of the efforts expended on Armenian studies in this country, as well as abroad, have gone into philology, the history of religion, art and architecture, literary history and the history of ancient and medieval Armenia. This is probably as it should be, since it was in these fields and periods that Armenia made her greatest contributions to the store-house of world civilization. However, throughout the modern period, which, for the purposes of this paper, could be defined as the last three and a half centuries, Armenia continued to play an important role in the history of the Middle East. Though dominated by more powerful neighbors, she did not cease to evince vitality and strength in a variety of fields.

Rather than survey the last 350 years of Middle Eastern history in relation to Armenia, I shall select a few significant events in which either Armenia or the Armenians were involved.

Under Shah Abbas the Great, Persia fought several wars against the Ottoman

Empire. Shah Abbas succeeded in driving the Turks out of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, and even Mesopotamia. Most of Transcaucasia was thus once again placed under the Safavi crown. It was then that Shah Abbas, wishing to improve his country's economy, to embellish his capital, and to develop commerce in silk, transported some five thousand Armenian families from war-ravaged Transcaucasia to Esfahan. The suburb of Esfahan, called Jolfa, became a thriving town with a Church, a school and various other institutions. Armenian artisans and merchants contributed a great deal to the progress and prosperity achieved by Persia under Shah Abbas.

Since the Armenian colony at Jolfa was prosperous, maintained a church and a school, and enjoyed much independence and freedom from outside interference, it is reasonable to assume that there must have been a certain amount of literary activity conducted, especially by the clergy. Somewhere there must be Armenian accounts of the reign of Shah Abbas and his successors, accounts which, because of the point of view from which they were written, would throw a new light on this important period of Persian history. However, I am not aware that anyone has paid much attention to the archives of the Armenian church in Jolfa, and if some individual Armenian scholars have done so, their labors have never been presented to the non-Armenian public.

In 1722 the Safavi monarchy fell under

the blows of barbarous Afghan tribes. Persian sources describing the Afghan invasion, the fall of Esfahan and the massacre of its inhabitants, are supplemented by a few accounts written by Europeans, including a valuable book by a Jesuit, Father Krusinski, who witnessed the events he described. It is known that Jolfa, situated on the right bank of the Zayandeh-Rud (the river flowing through Esfahan) was attacked first. The Armenians, left to themselves by the panic-stricken garrison of Esfahan, defended themselves with determination and valor but were overwhelmed by superior forces of the enemy. Surely, somewhere there must be Armenian histories recounting these events. How did the collapse of the Safavi dynasty impress the Armenians? Why did they fight the invader, instead of capitulating at once on more favorable terms? How did they view the time of trouble which followed the dethronement of Shah Soltan Hoseyn?

Toward the end of the XVIIIth century Aqa Mohammad Khan, a Turkoman of the Qajar tribe, established himself as Shah. Under him and for many decades thereafter no histories of any value were written by the Persians. The story of Aqa Mohammad Khan and the conditions of Persia in the last two decades of the eighteenth century would be known better than now if one could find Armenian sources to supplement the meager information we already possess.

During the Persian revolution of 1906-1911 the Armenians once again played an important role in Persia's affairs. A number of Armenians, especially in the north, joined the Constitutionalists and, together with their Persian fellow-citizens, fought against the tyranny of the decadent Qajars. Some of the Armenians from Turkey and Transcaucasia, already experienced in fighting oppressors, also took part in the Persian revolution, while one, Ephrem (Yefrem) Khan, commanded the force which defeated

the counter-revolutionary bands with whose help Mohammad Ali, the deposed and exiled Shah, tried to stage a comeback. It is hard to imagine that the Armenian participants of these events, most of them educated persons, conscious of the power of the pen, left no memoirs, diaries or papers. Yet, having surveyed the literature in Persian, English, Russian, French and German, I have not been able to discover anything by an Armenian. My conclusion is that Armenian materials either have not been published at all, or, if published, have not been translated into any of the above-mentioned languages.

Turning to the Caucasus, one observes an essentially similar situation. It is a well known fact that the Armenians, because of their religion, welcomed the Russian conquest of Transcaucasia. They contributed to the defeats suffered by Persia in 1804-1812, and again in 1826-1827, and even more to the series of defeats which befell Turkey at Russia's hand. General histories of Armenia give a few facts on this subject, and that is about all that is available to those who do not read Armenian.

Even for the period of 1917-1921, during which Russian rule in Transcaucasia collapsed, Armenia was invaded by Ottoman troops, entered the Transcaucasian federation, proclaimed her independence, fought wars against Georgia and Azerbaijan, and finally was reconquered by Russia, Armenian works available to non-Armenians are surprisingly few. True, many Armenians active in that period wrote in Russian, some wrote in other languages, but there is also a considerable literature in Armenian. It is there, but it can not be used because it has not been translated. In all the principal libraries one finds innumerable pamphlets, propaganda booklets and leaflets, materials distributed at the Paris Peace Conference in 1918-1919, etc., etc., but the archival materials of the Armenian government, some of which must have been taken out

of the country, have never been published, at least, not in any of the languages known to me. Nor has there been much publication of documentary materials relative to the early history of the Dashnaksutun.

Of course, the scholar who would hold the Chair of Armenian Studies at Harvard, should one be established, would not be able to work in every aspect of Armenian language, culture and history. He would have his own sphere of interest and compet-

ence, but around him would gather others — scholars, graduate students — interested in Armenia and her past. Though philology, ancient and medieval history, religion and art will continue to dominate Armenian studies, the new interest generated by the establishment of a Chair at Harvard would lead, I hope, to the study of the problems outlined in this paper and of scores of other problems which are of interest and significance also to the historians of Persia, Turkey and Russia.

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## ON THE CROSS

*My hands how they bleed  
As if I were sweating the crimson  
Loose from each anxious pore  
And was meant to bathe forever in its sun.*

*These scars, these nails,  
This numbness that by right  
Should take the name of pain  
And yet there is no pain at all this night.*

*My companion who too insults the cross  
By his very decoration  
Must feel the warmth this bitter eve,  
Such a strange and unknown divination.*

*I see him not but know he's there,  
Not twenty paces from my frame,  
And between us yet stands another cross  
Which bears one — I know not his name.*

*My hands how they bleed,  
These nails pursue ambitiously  
Seeking pain that heeds them not.  
The night is warm and we are three.*

LOOTFI MINAS

# ARMENIANS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

LOUISE NALBANDIAN

Armenian life in the "Od Country" was something I had only known through listening to the older generation and reading books and articles. It was on this information that my ideas and expectations concerning the Armenians in the Middle East were based since I was born and reared in the United States. I was faced with reality after a trip to the Middle East in 1949 and 1950 which took me to Syria, Lebanon, Hashemite Jordan, Egypt and Turkey where there are approximately 300,000 Armenians. The result of this journey was a mixture of disappointments, pleasant surprises and inspiring experiences in regard to the Armenians in the Middle East.

I had expected to see Armenians similar in culture and outlook to the older generation in the United States. However, I soon realized that the Armenians of the Turkish-Armenian vilayets of Van, Bitlis, Erzerum, Diarbekir, Sivas and Kharpert (Mamuret-ul-Aziz) who are numerous in the United States, were really a small group of the Armenian people. It was they who lived in the northern part of Turkish-Armenia, that were almost completely annihilated by the Turks during World War I. It was in the United States that I was seeing the last remnant of these people. They had been the fortunate few who had come to this country before the massacres and the handful of survivors. The Armenians of Lebanon and Syria were predominantly from the southern area of

Armenia. The large Armenian quarter in the Nahar district of Beirut was a Turkish speaking quarter. Seldom did I hear Armenian spoken in the streets of Nahar either by the old or by the young generation. These were largely those survivors of the Armenian nation who had been Turkish speaking in their native country through no fault of their own and they had survived the hardships and terror of the deportations. Yet, I could not but feel disappointed in not hearing Armenian spoken in such an Armenian sector and by vast numbers of Armenians in Lebanon and Syria. This disappointment was partly counteracted upon by visit to various institutions engaged in teaching the younger generation Armenians and in developing in them the cultural heritage of their ancestors.

In Syria and Lebanon, Armenian churches and organizations have sponsored schools for the community. During my visit in Aleppo, I witnessed a number of national schools where Armenian is the language of instruction. Enrollment in these various schools is in the thousands.

In Beirut, I had the pleasure of seeing the Armenian Palanjan College where I had the opportunity of meeting the late Levon Chanth. This school is sponsored

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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Miss Louise Nalbandian, a resident of San Francisco, Calif., is currently working towards her Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of California, Berkeley.



by the Armenian All-National Educational Association (Hamazgayin). It was also a pleasure to visit schools sponsored by the Armenian General Benevolent Union. In Beirut many of the younger generation complete their higher education in the French or American universities. What is most important is that the youth of Syria and Lebanon is receiving an Armenian education. These various institutions also have the task of supplementing the Armenian family and church in combating delinquency and building the moral integrity of the Armenian youth.

Armenian literature, music, theater and art are also helping to spread Armenian culture among the Armenians throughout the Middle East. There are numerous newspapers, periodicals and books printed and distributed. In Beirut we find literary circles centering around such publications as the *Akos* and the *Ani*.

In Egypt and Istanbul are found an older and wealthier Armenian community with fewer refugees from the deportation period. Thus, cultural development as a whole is on a higher plain in these two areas.

Istanbul is the center of the Armenian theater. Here, where Armenian political parties are outlawed, we have scores of cultural organizations and theatrical groups. The Armenian theater is famous in Turkey. These troupes also perform in other Armenian communities abroad.

Egypt is one of the centers of Armenian art in the world. Particularly outstanding in the cultural sphere is the Friends of Armenian Culture which is a small but productive group which includes outstanding personages from various political factions and religious denominations. Their aim is to introduce Armenian culture to other peoples and societies as well as to learn the culture of other nations. By this means they wish to raise the standards of Armen-

ian culture. Among their numerous and praiseworthy activities have been a number of Armenian Art Exhibitions, an Armenian Medieval Architectural Exhibition, and various and sundry publications. Among Egypt's leading artists are included such Armenians as O. Avedissian, G. Puzant, A. Saroukhan and Achod Zorian. It was indeed an inspiring experience to meet these artists and especially Mr. Onnig Avedissian who for years has made a careful study of ancient Armenian manuscripts. He has endeavored to produce in his works a modern form of the ancient school of Armenian art.

The Armenians of the Middle East are divided into three religious groups. They include Protestants, Catholics and those of the Armenian Apostolic Church. These groups have their own churches, schools, presses and publications.

Protestant Armenians of various denominations are particularly noticeable in Syria and Lebanon where they have set up their religious and educational institutions. They are the smallest of the three religious faiths and are primarily the result of the work done by the American missionaries. It was interesting to notice that the percentage of Protestants in the Armenian communities in the Middle East was much smaller than the number found in the communities of the United States.

There are approximately 20,000 Armenian Catholics in the Middle East. In Beirut I had an audience with the erudite and cordial Cardinal Aghajanian who heads this Armenian religious order. I visited their centers at Zummar, Paris, Rome and Venice. On the Island of San Lazzaro near Venice, I saw the Mechitarian Monastery with its magnificent collection of Armenian manuscripts, books and art objects. Here, I also received the kind hospitality of Abbot Oulohojian and Father Janachian, who is editor of the *Pazmaveb*

and the author of many scholarly publications.

The Armenian Apostolic Church includes by far the largest number of Armenians in the Middle East and has seminaries in Antelias and Jerusalem. Antelias in Lebanon is the Holy See of the Catholicosate of Cilicia and Jerusalem is the seat of the Apostolic See of St. James. Antelias is a short distance north of Beirut. It was a memorable experience to receive an audience with the late Catholicos Garegin I. His kind words, soft voice and warm welcome made me feel part of the Armenian fold. My visit to Jerusalem was planned in time for the Easter holidays. It was in the Holy City that I saw the importance of the Armenians to the fullest. Their quarter, which resembles an Armenian city where Armenians speak their native tongue, includes nearly one sixth of the Old City of Jerusalem. In this quarter is found the Armenian Monastery of St. James where the patriarch resides. At the monastery, I was warmly greeted and cordially entertained by Archbishop Yeghiche Derderian, the Locum Tenens of the Apostolic See of St. James. The Monastery of St. James is in itself a walled city of over 300 acres and has schools, priceless antiques, a large Armenian manuscript collection and a library of 40,000 volumes which was donated by the late Galouste Gulbenkian. The Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian community were recognized and honored by the Hashemite Jordanian government and by the consular officials of various nations. Easter in Jerusalem is a chapter by itself and was the epitome of my trip to the Middle East. Unfortunately, the Palestinian war has created a difficult situation for the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian population. Because of war losses and the unsettled political situation, I found the Armenian community of Palestine in the worst economic conditions of all the communities I visited. A large

number of Armenians have been forced to find refuge in the Armenian Monastery, and others have had to settle in Amman, Hashemite Jordan or in other countries.

Outside of Palestine, I did not find the Armenians as badly off economically as I had pictured. In Syria and Lebanon there was misery; one could observe homes made of flattened oil cans, living quarters with dirt floors, and dark and dismal classrooms. Yet, in comparison to the native peoples, the average Armenian in the Middle East had an equal and often higher standard of living. Along with poverty stricken Armenians in Beirut, there are a very wealthy group, many of whom also have summer homes in the mountains of Lebanon.

Armenians in the Middle East are noted for their industriousness and are skilled as craftsmen and businessmen. Their industriousness is visibly seen throughout the area. It is amazing how well they have adapted themselves to the foreign soil on which fate has placed them. Beirut appeared as if it were a little Armenia. On trolley cars, to my surprise, I found official notices written in Arabic, French and Armenian. In a restaurant, I found the menu written in Armenian. One can see shops and institutions with large signs printed in the Armenian language. It is not unusual for an Armenian businessman to have his card printed in French and Arabic as well as in Armenian.

Politically, the Armenians of Lebanon are a vital element in the country although they appear as a small minority statistically in the country as a whole. Lebanon is 51 percent Christian and 49 percent Moslem. The Christian Armenians are an important factor in the balance of power which favors the Christian Arabs who now govern the country.

The economy of the city of Beirut from a visitor's standpoint seemed to be in the hands of the large Armenian community. The Armenian communities of the Middle

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East receive a tremendous amount of assistance from organizations in this country. Yet, their wealthy citizens also contribute generously to the welfare of the local community.

In Cairo, Egypt, the Armenians, have an Aghkatakham (Charity Fund) which spends over \$18,000 per year in order to help needy Armenians and to give jobs to young Armenian girls. I visited this organization and saw the careful screening of persons who wanted assistance.

In Heliopolis near Cairo, there was a large, modern kindergarten which had been donated by Merjanian.

Egypt, the birthplace of the Armenian General Benevolent Union under Boghos Nubar Pasha, also has many other worthy Armenian institutions. These include the Yeghiaian Fund for orphan students of high scholastic standing. These students are given a university education in any institution of their choice through the funds provided by the philanthropist, Krikor Yeghiaian. Recipients of this fund include the lawyer, Shavarsh Sevkhonkian and the artist, Carzu of Paris. Egypt, too, was the home of the Melkonian brothers who founded the Melkonian Institute in Cyprus.

In Istanbul I visited churches, schools, orphanages and the Armenian Hospital. These are financed primarily by the generosity of the Armenians in the local community.

In spite of the help given to the Armenians in the Middle East by the local communities as well as that of the United States, there is still much need for assistance. The Armenian communities in the Middle East will maintain their national identity for a longer period than that of the Western countries because of the religious and cultural differences between them and the native population.

The Armenians of the Middle East must take even greater steps in progress and must keep pace with the rejuvenation which is now taking place in the countries in the Middle East. These communities should be kept alive and active. Their growth should be encouraged with the hope that some day conditions will be favorable and these Armenians might return to their native land. Then they can use all their energies for the betterment of Armenia and also continue to contribute to the advancement of civilization.



# THE TRIAL OF MISSAK TORLAKIAN

## EDITOR'S NOTE

*On July 18, 1921, in the evening, Behboud Khan Djivanshir, Minister of Interior of Azerbaijan, notorious Musavatist leader, and author of the Armenian massacres of Baku, was assassinated in Istanbul as he was about to enter Hotel Pera Palace in the European section of the city. At the time*

*Istanbul was occupied by the military forces of the Allied Powers. The trial took place in October of the same year before a British Military Court. The following summation was made by Humayyak Khosrovian, Attorney for the defendant, Missak Torlakian.*



### The Fatal Meeting

My Lord:

Between the speech of an attorney who believes his case and the prayer which ascends to God from the heart of the believer there is no essential difference. Forgive me the defects in my language, just as God would forgive the stammerings of a petitioner.

On a hot summer night an Armenian peasant, illiterate and crude, and an educated youth trained in European universities and boasting many degrees and titles meet each other in front of one of the fashionable hotels of Istanbul. Both of them had stepped out into the street to kill the night. The titled youth, educated, wealthy, handsome and already famous, was headed for the hotel to rest his body in one of its sumptuous rooms. He was accompanied by his wife and his loved ones, his brothers a few feet away. The other, the peasant, sick in body and soul, likewise wanted to kill the night which denied his tattered nerves any rest. The peasant was alone, not only in that hour of the night, but in the whole world. He, too, had had a wife and brothers,

but they no longer lived. To him, the whole world was a dark night. And at that moment a deep drama was being enacted between the two, the solution of whose secret God has delivered to this court.

### Whence This Meeting?

But whence came this meeting? It was one of those inevitable edicts of fate. These two persons, so different in point of birth-place, religion and nationality, were fugitives from the same Bloody City. The peasant was running away, who knows, to Istanbul, or much farther, to England, to America? He himself did not know to what end of the world. He had been shocked by the impact of one of those factors of fate which destroys a man's will power, his judgment, his hopes and the desire to live. To him, the world had ceased to be a reality, and indeed, what reality could the world offer to a man who had seen the butchery of his loved ones right before his eyes? His eyes no longer see the objects of the world, but only one image flashes in his eyes — his humble room at Ermenikend where he is stretched on the floor wounded while the criminals, like devouring wolves, butcher

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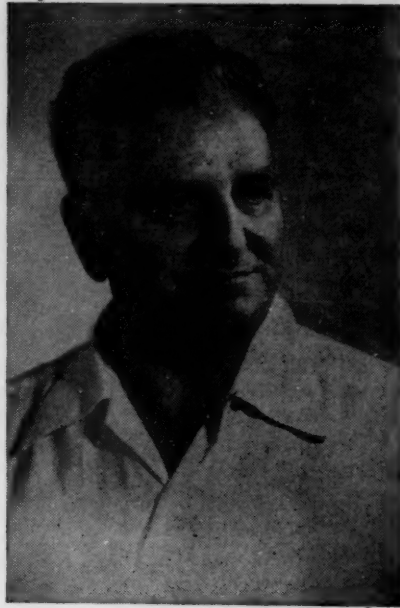
his two little babies, his wife, his sister Aghavni, the beauty queen of Shana and perhaps the whole of Trebizond, and his sick father. His eyes no longer see, his ears no longer hear, he only hears one voice — his father's dying petition to his executioners to spare his children.

And the other, he too a fugitive, this famous member of the Parliament, this leader, this Minister who enjoyed all the material benefits and pleasures of life, why does he flee to Istanbul? His relatives said he was not a fugitive but was sent to Istanbul by the Bolsheviks on a high mission.

A strange explanation indeed! To ascribe to Djivanshir, a rabid nationalistic bourgeois, such qualities of honesty and integrity as to be appreciated by the Bolsheviks! I myself suppose he contrived to assume this specious office in order to flee from Baku, the very city some of the most bloody pages of whose history he himself wrote with the collaboration of a few of his satellites. Under the veneer of his university and civic titles, it was the great criminal who was going to take a rest in one of the rooms of a luxurious hotel. The peasant never dreamed of seeing Djivanshir in Istanbul. It was proved here that the accused came to Istanbul in January of 1921, while Djivanshir came five months later, on June 25, 1921. And presently the fatal hour strikes. The victim suddenly comes face to face with the criminal; his heart begins to pound, his blood surges into his head, and the inevitable happens. The executioner of Baku no longer is. He falls by the bullet of an unconscious hand.

### The Black Hand

Honorable Sir, permit me to point out here the salient facts which were proved before this just tribunal. In the spring of 1915, a black hand hovered over the life of Turkish Armenians; the death toll of a centuries-old nation which somehow had managed to preserve its religion, its lan-



MISSAK TORLAKIAN

guage and literature despite most adverse circumstances.

The black hand moved always and everywhere, where there was a breathing Armenian. Behold, the black hand wrecked the home of Mrs. Kohar Saryan, first removed her husband by putting him in a boat and killing him at sea, then robbed his entire wealth.

Here is another page. See how the black hand ruined the Tahmazians, one of the wealthiest Armenians of Trebizond. It exiled the father and a son of this three member family and killed them in exile; the second son, Suren, told us here how he owed his life to a kind Turk, Eomer Effendi, who took this lad under his shelter and protected his life.

Another eye witness Mrs. Kellerian told us that she was in the first caravan of the deportees, together with her father, mother, three sisters and her relatives. When the



caravan reached the vicinity of Daldaban, the gendarmes fell upon them and looted their possessions. Then comes the Governor and head of the brigands who separates the males and exterminates them. Mrs. Kellerian's loved ones are all killed. The remnants of the caravan are then driven to Erzinka, Aleppo and on to Der-ez-Zor. Very few survived the rigors of the journey.

The witness testified that all the Armenians of Erzinka had been exterminated. In Kemakh, the Kaimakam declared he had special instructions to send them to the desert. At their destination, the witness saw only 300 women and starving children.

I shall be forgiven if I quote here a passage from the Blue Book, page 285. "The deportations started in the last week of June. Their destination was the same as the one for the caravans coming from Erzeroum. But it seems there was no intention of taking the Armenians to their destination alive. In Trebizond they herded a part of them in boats and dumped them into the sea. Many caravans were escorted on land and were massacred at a day's distance from the city. The same order went to the Armenians of Shabin Karahissar but the latter defied the Government's order and resisted. Regular troops were sent against these and all the Armenians of the city and vicinity were put to the sword."

Another witness, Yervand Odian, a noted figure of Armenian letters, is exiled. Already the Black Hand had removed all the flowers of Armenian intellect. In Ereyli the witness saw the long trail of Armenian caravans from Ismid, Adapazar, Esgishehir and elsewhere, all women, children and the aged. The youths had been exiled and put to the sword. In Tarson he saw 7000 pavilions of the exiled, each accommodating 6-7, all from Adapazar, Bardizak, Konia, Adrionopolis etc. Disease alone took a daily toll of 4-5000. In Islahiyeh the witness saw 50,000 deportees from Kasternuni, Ankara, Aydin, Rodosto, Mudania and elsewhere. In

Aleppo he saw an even larger number from Adana, Cilicia, Hadjin, Zeitoun, Diarbekir and Harpoot. In Hama he saw 6000, and in Der-ez-Zor 2000, all women. I pass over what the witness heard in Der-ez-Zor.

"Can the human being perpetuate similar crimes of men, women and children?" This is the answer the Blue Book gives to this question:

"In 1895-96 hundreds of thousands of Christian Armenians were massacred by Abdul Hamid; thousands of women died for their religion, although they could have saved their lives by renouncing their Christ. All these massacres not only are recorded in the customary press, but in the diplomatic and consular reports of the British agents, official at the time. They are as authentic as any event in our days."

During his interrogation, the Prosecuting Attorney raised the question if the Armenians could not have invited these disasters upon themselves through their revolutionary activity and for having raised arms against their government.

The Prosecuting Attorney failed to prove this point. With reference to this question, I shall content myself by quoting a few excerpts from the Blue Book, pages 264 and 629-632.

"The Armenian inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire were everywhere uprooted from their homes, and deported to the most remote and unhealthy districts that the Government could select for them. Some were murdered at the outset, some perished on the way, and some died after reaching their destination. The death roll amounts to upwards of six hundred thousand; perhaps six hundred thousand more are still alive in their places of exile; and the remaining six hundred thousand or so have either been converted forcibly to Islam, gone into hiding in the mountains, or escaped beyond the Ottoman frontier. The Ottoman Government cannot deny these facts, and they cannot justify them. No

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provocation or misdemeanor on the part of individual Armenians could justify a crime against the whole race. But it might be explained and palliated if the Armenians, or some of them, were originally in the wrong; and therefore the Ottoman Government and its German apologists have concentrated their efforts on proving that this was the case. There are three main Turkish contentions, none of which will bear examination.

"The first contention is that the Armenians took up arms and joined the Russians as soon as the latter crossed the Ottoman frontier. The standard case cited is the Revolt of Van. The deportations, they maintain, were ordered only after this outbreak, to forestall its repetition elsewhere. This contention is easily rebutted. In the first place, there was no Armenian revolt in Van. The Armenians merely defended the quarter of the city in which they lived, after it had been besieged and attacked by Turkish troops, and the outlying villages visited with massacre by Turkish patrols. The outbreak was on the Turkish side, and the responsibility lies with the Turkish Governor, Djevdet Bey. In the second place, the deportations had already begun in Cilicia before the fighting at Van broke out.

"There were several instances in which the Armenians took up arms, but none of them were relevant to the case. They were all subsequent in date to these cardinal instances (Van, Zeitoun), and were simply attempts at self defence by people who had seen their neighbors massacred or deported, and were threatened with the same fate themselves. The Armenians of Moush resisted when they were attacked by Djevdat Bey, who had already tried to massacre the Armenians of Van and had succeeded in massacring those of Sairt and Bitlis. The Armenians of Sassoun resisted when the Kurds had destroyed their kinsmen in the plain of Diarbekir and were closing in upon

themselves. Further West, a few villages took up arms in the Vilayet of Sivas, after the rest of Sivas Armenians had been deported; and at Shabin Karahissar the Armenians drove out their Turkish fellow-townsmen and stood for several weeks at bay, when they heard how the exiles from Trebizond and Kerasond had been murdered on the road. The defense of Jebel-Moussa in August was similarly inspired by the previous fate of Zeitoun.

"The resistance at Ourfa in September was another act of despair, provoked by the terrible procession of exiles from Harpout and the north-east, which had been filing for three months through Ourfa before the Armenian colony there was also summoned to take the road. These were all a consequence of the deportations, and not their cause. It may be added that, wherever resistance was offered, the Turks suppressed it with inconceivable brutality, not merely retaliating upon the fighting men, but, in most cases, massacring every Armenian man, woman and child in cold blood after the fighting was over. These cases were not palliations of the atrocities, but occasions of worst excesses.

"The second contention is that there was a general conspiracy of Armenians throughout the Empire to bring about an internal revolution at a moment when all the Ottoman military forces were engaged on the frontiers, and so deliver the country into the hand of the Allies. The prompt action of the Ottoman Government in disarming, imprisoning, executing and deporting the whole people — innocent and guilty alike — is alleged to have crushed this movement before it had time to declare itself. This is an insidious line of argument, because it refuses to be tested by the evidence of what actually occurred. The revolution, it is alleged, was to break out when the Allies landed in Cilicia; but such a landing was never made. Or it was arranged in conjunction with the leading at

Dardanelles — but the landing was made and the outbreak never happened. Indeed, it is hard to see what the Armenians could have done, for nearly all their able-bodied men between twenty and forty-five years of age were mobilized at the beginning of the war.

"We are left with the third, which lays little stress on justice or public safety and bases the case on revenge. The Armenian civil population in the Ottoman Empire, it is alleged, owes its misfortunes to the Armenian volunteers in the Russian Army. 'Our Armenians in Turkey,' say the Turks in effect, 'have certainly suffered terribly from the measures we have taken; they may even have suffered innocently; but can you blame us? Was it not human nature that we should revenge ourselves on the Armenians at home for the injury we had received from their compatriots fighting against us at the front in the Russians ranks — men who actually volunteered to fight against us in the enemy's cause?'"

"This is almost the favorite argument of the apologists, and yet it is surely the most monstrous of any, for these Armenian volunteers owed no allegiance to the Turks at all, but were ordinary Russian subjects. The loyalty of the Russian Armenians to Russia cast no imputation upon the Ottoman Armenians, and was no concern of the Turks.

"The various Turkish contentions thus fail, from first to last, to meet the point. They all attempt to trace the atrocities of 1915 to events arising out of the war; but they do not even suggest any adequate motive for their perpetration."

Before closing this page of terrors I deem it my duty to stress the following points which were proved in this Court. First, after the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, that is to say this side of 1908, there have been no secret organizations among the Armenians. Second, the Armenians have never fostered any hostile spirit against the Turks. The proof of this is the

Ittihad-Dashnak cooperation which followed the proclamation of the Constitution.

### **The Black Hand Crosses the Border**

After satiating itself with the blood of Turkish Armenians, the Black Hand stretched its paws toward the Armenians of Russia, having for its collaborators this time a few Turks from Caucasus who professed to belong to the Musavat Party which, I do not know, whether it was the father or the offspring of Ittihad. All the same, the following points were established before this Court.

A. Musavat was in constant contact with the Ittihad-Terakki Party and was commissioned to support the Ittihadist aims as was testified by Baikov and Dr. Boghosian.

B. Djivanshir is one of the principal leaders of Musavat, together with Topjibashef, Ali Mardanbeg, Mehmed Kojinski, Khankhouyski and others.

C. Musavat fully espoused the wartime policy of Ittihad, inspiring the Mohammedan population of Caucasus with the spirit of Pan-Turanism and Pan-Islamism, picturing before it the reassembly and the consolidation of the Islams of the world from Istanbul to India.

### **The Massacres in Baku**

It is an irrefutable historic fact, established in large part by the witnesses before this court, that Armenia, immediately after winning her independence, aligned herself with the Allied Powers, and regardless of the fact that she was surrounded by 4 million Mohammedans of Azerbaijan and was confronted by an Azerbaijan ally Turkish army, defended the Kars-Baku line, step by step, for fully 8 months until September of 1918.

Through proofs adduced before this Court it was established that, before the September massacres of Baku, among the fugitives in Ermenkend there were Armenians from Shamakh and elsewhere, including sick men and the wounded. At that time Djivanshir was Minister of Interior, "influential and vigorous," as the witnesses testi-

fied. Before the appearance of these Armenians in Baku the Black Hand already had begun its harvest of the Armenians on the road.

The September massacres of Baku were the consummation of the massacre policy of Djivanshir's Ministry. These massacres were described before this Court in their enormity. But first let us take up the witnessses of the accuser.

#### Djivanshir's Witnesses

1. Rustembegov — a member of Musavat, editor-in-chief of the newspaper Azerbaijan which has been a propaganda organ of Pan-Turanism.

This man had taken quarters near the Armenian church, but he could not tell us who owned the building, who lived on the upper story! He was in Baku only one day, and yet he has the temerity of dishing out opinions as if he has made extensive travels, and when we asked him where, he said he had gone to Qadikeoy. Of what value is the testimony of man who gives such puerile answers?

2. Ahmed Hamidi Karazadeh — likewise editor, and a Musavatist member of the Parliament. He has written editorials but he doesn't recall the dates, he even does not remember when his paper was a weekly and when it was converted into a daily. He is also a man of encyclopedic knowledge, he says he has heard nothing about the Armenian massacres but insists that in Erivan, where he never set foot, the Moslems were massacred by the Armenians.

3. Semender — This witness not only explicitly states that not a single Armenian was massacred in Baku, but expresses admiration for the exquisite sense of justice of the Azerbaijan Government which not only did not permit the massacre of the Armenians but promptly sends to the gallows the man who steals the most trivial object. And to cap the comedy, he claims he saw with his own eyes how the Inspector Behaeddin Bey in one to two days, right

in the middle of the street, sentenced to death 20 brigands and hanged them!

4. Zibba Hanum Kayibova — It is not known where she was born or where she lived. She says to the Prosecuting Attorney that she was born in Baku, but to my question, she admits that she was not born in Baku but in Tiflis. She says in September there were no Armenian massacres in Baku, but with the same breath she confesses that many Armenians sought shelter in Tartar homes. There were others, too, who gave such contradictory testimony, one of them even said he had saved the lives of 7000 Armenians by hiding them in the cellar of his home. This woman of high social standing was accustomed to attend the sessions of the Parliament and yet she says she is not interested in political matters and does not know what Djivanshir's policy was.

5. Yousuf Kasimov — This is the hero who sheltered 7000 Armenians in the cellar of his house. He says the Armenians were not massacred but remembers reading that in September of 1918 the losses of the Armenians were great. When cornered, he says the name of the paper he read was Baku, whereas there was no newspaper named *Baku* at that time and the leading paper was *Azerbaijan*.

6. Ali Asaf — It is even superfluous to speak of the testimony of this man. I must only point out that he was good enough to admit that he saw quite a number of Armenian corpses in the streets in September.

Why were these witnesses brought into this Court? To prove that the Armenians of Baku in September were so safe and cozy that they could not have been safer even in London. It is plain what they were driving at. They tried to tear off one of the blackest pages of Azerbaijanian history, forgetting that the history of the world is an inexorable accountant and no one can expunge its records. The game of the Prosecution is plain, namely, to deny the massacres,

so that its authors, and the principal culprit Djivanshir, may be expurgated of all responsibility.

This Court listened to the testimonies of the famous jurist Boris Baykov, the Russian officer Boris Kekhtman, Princess Tamara Volkanskaya and many Armenian witnesses all of whom were eye witnesses of the events in March. The events in March were of the nature of a civil war between the Bolsheviks and the Mohammedans. These Bolsheviks were nothing more than the Russian army, moving under the command of Lenin and Trotsky.

In the Russian army there were Russians, Georgians, Jews, Tartars, as well as Armenians. These were neither Russian, Georgian, Jewish, Tartar nor Armenian, but Bolsheviks.

The Armenians in Baku at that time had their National Council, much the same as the Tartars and the Russians. Only that Council was qualified to represent the Armenian nation.

The witnesses on our side proved in detail how the Armenian national authority, doing its utmost, saved the lives of thousands of Tartars. This humanitarian behavior on the part of the Armenian National Council merited the gratitude of the Moslems, a sentiment which Tazief, one of the Moslem chiefs, transmitted by wire to all the Moslems of the Caucasus. Even the witnesses of the Prosecution admitted this fact.

The testimony of the eye witnesses established the following facts:

1. The events in March were the result of the conflict between the Soviet Government and the Tartars.

2. There were Tartars who cooperated with the Bolsheviks, among whom was Narimanov, the present President of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

3. In these fights many Tartars owed their lives to the protection of the Armenians.

4. These encounters ended in a truce between the Mohammedans and the Bolsheviks.

All these go to prove that the events in March were of a political nature, a sort of civil war between the Mohammedans and the Bolsheviks.

Could it be that Djivanshir was in Baku during the encounters of March and had a share of the responsibility in the ensuing bloodshed? The testimonies revealed, and Mrs. Djivanshir confirmed it, that Djivanshir was in Baku in March. The second question was answered by European historians and the eye witness Henry Barb. But my job is to track down the assassins who massacred the whole family of my poor defendant.

#### The Massacres in the East

First, let us take up the crime itself.

In the whole of British jurisprudence I have never seen the like of the fearful crime which crimsoned the Caspian Sea in September of 1918. The East is the official land of organized massacre. In the East, for the solution of ethnic problems, governments see no need of resorting to sociological and political sciences.

Such problems generally are solved through the medium of secret wires and secret code directives exchanged between governmental circles. And one day, at the appointed hour, the massacres begin and they last as long as it is determined by the Government. The Minister of Interior must exercise caution and farsightedness in this connection, he must move with discretion, so that, if in the future Christian governments lodge their protests, the government will be in a position to shift the responsibility, either by denying the massacres, or by putting the blame on the victims of the massacres.

All the refinements of this monstrous policy were put into effect in the September massacres in Baku.

The Turco-Tartar army was attacking



Baku in great force, in an effort to seize the Baku oil wells which were needed to supply the German armies with fuel oil, the lack of which was a cause of great anxiety to Ludendorf. Ludendorf in his Memoirs has admitted how the Armenian army staved off the advancing Turkish army for fully eight months, thus depriving the German army of its sorely need fuel. The Armenian army and the handful of braves of General Dunsterville could no longer hold off the insistent surge of the overwhelming Turkish army. The General decided to withdraw from Baku, taking with him a multitude of 30,000 terrified Armenians. The General had no means of evacuating the entire Armenian population of Baku.

Thus, the General and the Armenian army scarcely had pulled out when the Tartar brigand bands rush into the city and the storm cuts loose. It is the beginning of the massacre. The Tartars massacre the Armenians. The massacre lasts for three days and nights without interruption. Is there any need of talking about the pillage? The brigands are as thirsty for Armenian blood as they are for their wealth.

All these points were established by the testimonies of our witnesses. They told us how the Armenian refugees in Ermenikend, whether from Trebizond or the other cities of Turkey, from Noukhi, Shushi, Shamakh or Jeokcheh, were the very first victims.

Dr. Boghosian told us that he saw the dead body of Aghavni in Ermenikend. The poor woman had preferred to kill herself with the precious knife, rather than to surrender to the passions of the Tartars. Oh, Mr. President, the story of the Armenian girls in those terror years has a place among the most touching pages of world history. In the history of Armenian martyrdom, the greater part of Armenian girls have been an Aghavni each.

And yet, Aghavni perhaps was even more happy than this poor lad. We must not

expect the impossible from the heart and the nerves of a man. There are shocks which are beyond the endurance of the brain. The emotions, too, have a limit, beyond which the human being becomes shattered. He is now a miserable, disconsolate soul, a living dead which walks. Real death transcends such a state of mind.

#### Who Organized the Massacres of Baku?

We have seen the Great Crime. Now let us look for the culprits, not those mercenary brigand bands who are so many animals, but the hands which organized and led them. We are confronted with a wealth of proof, decisive and devastating, which would be considered sufficient to condemn the members of this government as assassins, putting on the first line of the condemned the Minister of Interior.

I shall be forgiven if I enumerate here the principal points of this proof.

1. A few days before the massacres, some kind-hearted Turks advise their Armenian friends to vacate the Armenian quarter and settle in the central quarter. A week before the massacres the Tartars were prowling from house to house looking for Armenians. Even the Turkish witnesses testified that there were rumors before the Massacre.

2. The bandit bands entered Baku before the Turkish army, and these bandits were Azerbaijanian Tartars who were the chief actors in the massacre.

3. The bandits sought only the Armenians to kill and to plunder. They never touched the Russians and the Jews, and if they visited their homes, it was only to ask for Armenians.

But this is not all. During the massacre Princess Tamara Volkanskaya asked the protection the Tartar Government against the Tartar bandits who had entered her apartment to plunder. The Tartar gendarmes come and throw out the bandits, but note what the Tartar policeman says to the Princess:

"I have done my duty, but you are staying

at the home of an Armenian; I don't know what you are after, whether to save your apartment, or to save an Armenian's home. If it's the latter, then rest assured you can no longer rely on our protection."

4. Almost all the Turkish witnesses testified that many Armenians sought refuge in Mohammedan homes but they never said Russians or Jews were hidden in Turkish homes.

5. Even the officers of the Ottoman army which entered Baku admitted the Tartar Government's responsibility in the massacres. One of these, a noble character who occupied three rooms in the Princess' apartment and who supplied food to the Armenians under her protection, in answer to the Princess' question, how come that a Turkish officer shows kindness to the Armenians 20,000 of whom were massacred by the Mohammedans, the replied:

"I am an officer of the Turkish Army; the Turkish Army never took part in the massacres. The sole blame of the massacres rests upon the Tartar leaders. The Tartars and the Armenians had their private score to settle. It's a pity that the Turkish army arrived too late to prevent the massacre."

Similarly, Mursel Pasha advises Baykov not to believe the word of the Azerbaijani ministers because the latter want to shift the responsibility of the massacres on the Turks.

6. All this, however, is irrelevant. Even the Ministers of Azerbaijan not only do not deny the responsibility of the massacres, but they consider the measure as a legitimate act of the State.

This is what one of the Ministers, Melik Aslanof, said to the Princess: "We will not lay down our arms until we have liquidated all the Armenians of Azerbaijan."

Another example. Mr. Baykov calls on Djivanshir to talk about a great Russian business firm. The latter asks him if there are Armenians in the company and Baykov replies that 90 percent of the company

stock belongs to the Russians. After examining the documents Djivanshir says, "This company does business chiefly with the Armenians, therefore, it is not worthy of the Government's protection."

Now let us take a look at the published declarations of the Ministers, signed by Khankhouyski and Djivanshir:

"All the Russians, the Georgians and the Jews may rest easy and return to their former occupations, but if any one, no matter who, protects an Armenian he will be regarded as outside the pale of the law, that is to say, his act will be regarded as a crime against the Government and he will be severely punished accordingly. He who has information about Armenians in hiding, or those who know people who are hiding Armenians, they should come forward and notify the Government."

General Sebouh's Aide Mr. Amirian told us about the content of a code order signed by Djivanshir in which he said:

"This is a holy war to unify the divided factions of the Turkish race, for this reason the extermination of the Armenian race is an imperative necessity. The Armenians are the tools of the British, the sole obstacle to the success of our policy — a policy which opens the road to India.

"We must exterminate the Armenians, and over their corpses we must march to our goal. Therefore, spare no one and execute your orders to the letter. Only in this way can Istanbul emancipate India."

All these points were established before this Court with overwhelming proof. It was established that Djivanshir was a rabid nationalist, a chauvinist. These two words have a different meaning in the East. In Europe the nationalist or chauvinist statesman is he who exaggerates his patriotism to the point of intolerance, but in the East the nationalist-chauvinist statesman oppresses and massacres all those who belong to another religion or race.

It is this Djivanshir who was the assassin

of thousands of Armenian families and who massacred the whole family of this poor lad. This blood-thirsty Tartar Chief of Baku gloated on the blood of the poor Armenian people for three days.

Don't think that he had his fill at the end of three days. It was established here that the persecution against the Armenians was kept up even after the massacres. Djivanshir rounded up the Armenian intellectuals one by one, imprisoned them and killed a part of them. The other part was saved only after the second entry of the British in Baku.

#### Djivanshir and His Victims

Oh, one must know Djivanshir when he comes face to face with his victims!

One day he enters the cell of the Armenian intellectuals, no doubt to take a closer look at his victims and to thrill at the sight of their suffering. There he meets Amirian who says to him: "To merit this imprisonment I have committed only one crime, and I have the courage to admit that you have imprisoned me because I am an Armenian. As you wickedly massacred the Armenians before, so you have wickedly imprisoned me."

And Djivanshir says to him: "You Armenians are guilty, and as before, so now you must be punished until you come to your senses."

And now, this Djivanshir comes face to face with this lad. Forgive me a moment, however, as I give an outline of the terrible drama of Ermenikend.

The bandit gangs have entered the poor room in Ermenikend in a corner of which lies Hagop, the defendant's father, the aged and sick head of the Torlakian family, crouched in terror. Beside him is Aghavni, Hagop's daughter, and Yervand, his younger son. And this lad, the defendant, who only a few moments before, attacked and wounded by the bandit gangs, had dragged himself inside, and was lying in the arms of his young wife while his two babies,

with pitiful cries, were begging for protection.

The bandit ruffraff, satiated with the slaughter of the Torlakian family, trample upon the seven corpses and are off.

But they were mistaken about one of the seven, namely the accused. Misak does not know how long he was senseless; what he remembers is that, when he comes around he sees an Armenian woman tenderly bending over him. This woman owed her life to a merest accident. Being a washer woman she was away from Ermenikend at the time of the massacre and thus was saved.

As soon as he regains his strength somewhat, the accused wants to get out of that bloody city and to this end he tries to get hold of a passport. Accompanied by a few of his compatriots he goes to the Government building. Just then a luxurious automobile pulls up and some one steps out. The spectators say it is Djivanshir. The accused approaches Djivanshir and asks for a pass to Tiflis. And Djivanshir says to him, "Why should I let you go? I want to see you starve here and die like a dog in the street."

Another day the accused is again at the Government building, accompanied by a large number of wretched Armenians, waiting perhaps for the Government to take pity on him and give him a pass. One Armenian ventures to beg Djivanshir to set the prisoners free, and Djivanshir replies; "Your request amazes me since my wish is to wipe you off the face of the earth. Do you want me to order you to join them?"

#### The Tartars Should Have Wept

This is the story of the terrible crime of Baku. This is the Government of Azerbaijan, the organizer of the crime, and this is Djivanshir, the powerful and influential Minister of Internal Affairs of the Government. A Tartar witness from Baku testified that those in Baku who knew Djivanshir were saddened by the news of his death.

The witness did not say they had wept. I would wish that they had wept, yes, wept not over the death of Djivanshir, but over themselves who had committed the fate of their fatherland into the hands of such a butcher, and who, even if he reduced Baku to an Armenian graveyard, assuredly took away a considerable amount of the honor and the glory of his fatherland.

They should have been saddened, not over the death of Djivanshir, but over his victims. And these victims were not the Armenians alone. Who knows how many Mohammedans went to their graves by the passion of that tyrant?

#### **Denial the Only Recourse of the Opposition**

The opposition did not offer proof of Djivanshir's innocence. The opposition's legal tactics consisted only of one thing, namely, to deny the Armenian massacres of September. When there is no massacre, there is no responsibility. Imagine for a moment that a whole quarter of a city is reduced to ashes by a fire and the chief of police is called upon to give an accounting. The police chief can think only of two ways to clear himself. To deny the fire. But this is hopeless once the fire is established, he will surely be convicted. The other way out is to admit the occurrence of the fire, but to try to prove that there is no question of responsibility.

The second way is the legal way. If the accused has done his duty he will be found innocent.

In the case of Torlakian the Prosecuting Attorney chose the first way. He denied the massacre of Baku and we proved what he denied. This proof in itself is the conviction of Djivanshir.

We would have stopped with the proof of the massacre. We could have contended: "Behold a city whose Armenian population was massacred. The Minister of Interior is guilty for having failed to prevent the massacre."

But we did not stop here. With absolute and irrefutable testimony we proved that the Ministry itself, Minister of Interior Djivanshir in particular, planned, organized and executed the massacre.

#### **Let Us Put Ourselves in the Place of Torlakian**

The lawyer who assumes the defence of an accused may in a criminal trial would fail in his responsibility if he failed to pass through a critical examination all the emotions which agitate his soul, the storms which roar in his heart, the countless complex wrinkles which torment his mind. He would fail in his responsibility if for one moment he did not put himself in the shoes of the accused and asked himself the question: "How would you act under the circumstances if you were in his place?"

My Lord, my Lord, have pity on this poor lad. I asked this question to myself several times, and behold, I ask it once again. Let them kill my father, my brother, my sister right before my eyes, let them slaughter my wife, let them strangle them before these eyes which should go blind and let them turn the world around me into a dark world — and then let them cut loose this criminal to go scot free, to walk about freely and boldly, having at his disposal the most luxurious hotels and the most powerful automobiles, and then let them close the doors of the courts against his victims. My Lord, how would any one else act under the circumstances if suddenly he came face to face with this criminal? Would he sit still, or would he act? This is the crux of the whole problem. And if he acted and killed him, what would the law do about it?

#### **The British Law and the Present Case**

My Lord, this is the first time that a case like this is presented before a British court. Have pity on me and permit me freely to express myself before the Justice of a nation whose country was the cradle of Freedom. Under these exceptional circumstan-

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ces, if he killed some one, the law would be lenient to him.

The British Penal Code is built on a profound conception of human feelings; the law does not know the powerful emotions which storm the soul. The law foresees the factor of provocation. According to the law, a murder is either premeditated or not premeditated. The characteristic of an unpremeditated murder is the provocation which creates an immediate anger resulting in an act of murder.

Now, my Lord, I ask you. Is there any anger, the intensity of which can be compared with the anger of a man who accidentally, and suddenly comes face to face with the murderer of his loved ones? A criminal who has flouted justice for three years, with a conviction firmly rooted in him that there is no authority, no power which can call him to an account for the crimes he has committed, no court to which his victims may appeal, and that he can go on enjoying life, comfortable and secure. The very exhibition of himself of this criminal, I ask you, My Lord, is it not a provocation in itself?

#### **Torlakian is Not Guilty; Is Not Responsible For His Act**

My Lord, this man is accused of a murder, but where is the malice here? In the concept of the law a malicious act means a wrong operation, enacted with premeditation, without justifying cause.

I indulge in these reflections supposing that it is not Torlakian who is occupying the chair of the accused, but someone else who does not suffer from a mental trauma. In the conditions of the present case there is no premeditated murder, but unpremeditated murder. There can be no premeditated murder where there is provocation; there can be no premeditated murder where there is no malice. Yes, there is no malice, there is no criminal intent. There can be no criminal intent because we proved its absence.

First, because of the fact that Djivanshir with his brother came to Istanbul on June 25 of 1921, and we proved that Torlakian came to Istanbul before that date, the beginning of January, 1921. Second, we proved that when Misak came to Istanbul from Batum he carried arms on his person.

And now, my Lord, I remove the hypothetical person whom for a moment I placed on the chair and examine the case visualizing Misak, this doubly hapless lad, hapless because of the crimes of men, hapless from the privations of nature. This unfortunate lad is a sick person who needs your pity. He was not in proper control of his senses when he committed the act.

This lad's mental condition and his psychological state was explained before this court with all the details, established by the testimony of witnesses. During his stay in Istanbul he slumped to the floor several times, foaming in the mouth. Most of the time he was in a daze, his head held in his hands, suddenly coming to himself and soliloquizing about his family: "I feel they are here, right round me." He was always timid, melancholy, and retiring, spending all his time in his room. He was accustomed to sing spiritual songs and funeral dirges.

Another witness, Mazhar Osman Bey, called to the witness stand by the Prosecution, testified that, if the testimony of the witnesses is correct, he could easily assume that the accused was subject to fits of epilepsy. Another witness summoned by the Court, Major Davis, testified that, considering all the facts, he thought the man was not conscious of the nature of his act, and that, his provocation caused by the sight of Djivanshir and the subsequent revival of his memory of his loved ones brought about a slight fit, almost imperceptible, followed by an impulse of killing, in which state of mind he committed his act.

#### **Behold the Word of Science**

Behold, Mr. President, the opinion of science. This is the opinion of five of Istanbul



bul's most famous experts on insanity. In all my experience as a lawyer I remember few cases in which the question of deliberation was so scrupulously scrutinized by medical science.

And I do not recall a single case where so many physicians were so unanimous in their verdict as in this case. They said Torlakian was unconscious of his act when he killed Djivanshir. How could science have expressed itself otherwise? What is more natural than the conclusion that Torlakian's sick brain could not stand the shock of the sight of Djivanshir's black face. And indeed, where is the sound brain which could have stood such a shock? The human brain is neither steel nor stone, and even if it were, are there not whole cities buried under the lava of Mount Vesuvius?

No, Honorable Lord, this poor lad is a sick person, miserable in heart and soul. Who knows what voices he hears this very moment — the voice of his father, or his daughter? Perhaps he is surrounded by his loved ones, perhaps they are calling Misak to their side, to another world where men do not suffer. But no, my Lord, the thousands of the dead of Baku are watching you at this moment, showing you the Banner of Justice. Do not hesitate. Deliver Misak to me, so that the name of God may be glorified.

### The Verdict of the British Military Court

*(A closing statement by Missak Torlakian)*

I wish also to say that the President of the Court and the two members were openly sympathetic toward me and the defence, but the Prosecuting Attorney, on the contrary, was a Turcophile. The latter, before the ending of the trial, was called to England on some mission and the local Turkish newspapers devoted many lines in his praise. He was succeeded by a young officer, Captain Crompton.

During the entire course of the trial my hands were handcuffed. To and from the prison and back to the Court I was always accompanied by two Turkish and two English police officers. The first day there was no crowd in the Court, but when the Istanbul press announced that the trial had begun the people from the streets filled the court and many spectators from their windows watched me on my way to the Court.

The day the verdict was to be announced the Court was crowded. The Judge, apparently fearing a demonstration outside, announced that the records of the trial would be sent to London from where the verdict would come. Two weeks later they again summoned me to the Court where the following verdict was read:

"The defendant is found guilty of the act of murder but the Court does not hold him responsible because, at the moment of the crime, he suffered a mental lapse."

After this sentence they returned me to my prison. The same day they moved me to room No. 1 where I was given a separate bed, and was kept there for 18 more days. During the daytime I used to take strolls in the public garden adjoining the prison.

One day the Warden ordered lunch for me and told me to gather my belongings. We went to his office. Presently, a military car pulled up at the gate. They put me in the car and drove me to the port where a Greek ship lay at anchor some distance away. As I was about to board the ship, the British police officer and the interpreter Mesrop K. Kouyoumjian left me.

At Smyrna the Captain would not let me land and see the city. He said I had been exiled to Greece.

When we reached Peria, the Greek seaport, I was a free man. I went straight to the Armenian church in Athens.

## CHASTITY

*Her hair flutters in the wind,  
and her proud symmetrical body  
is profiled against the stark blue sky  
as she stands looking out over the verdant valley  
from high upon a hill.*

*The countryside is clean,  
pure,  
virginal to human touch;  
washed by the gentle rains of spring,  
strengthened by the soft glow of the spring sun,  
the land lives and expands  
as time ambles down its natural evolutionary path  
toward the mature autumn.*

*Looking up to the top of the peak,  
one can plainly see the perfect harmony  
that exists between this spring and the young girl.*

FRANK TARJIAN

# THE LEVON CHANTH MISSION TO MOSCOW

## PART II

### HAMBARDZOOM TERTERIAN

#### I

The Delegation of Armenia was obliged to stay in Rostov for more than ten days. Normal conditions had not as yet been restored in the southern provinces of Russia. The remnants of the forces of generals Wrangel and Denikin, still lingering in the Crimean Peninsula and the region of Kouban, through their incessant inroads threw the Bolshevik ranks into confusion, creating a general state of insecurity.

Travel by railway had come to a standstill, trains being used only for military purposes. Central railroad stations were crowded with passengers who waited for weeks for an occasional train to take them to their destination.

Under such circumstances, even for our Delegation it was not easy to obtain a special locomotive and a wagon to travel to Erivan. Thanks to the efforts of S. Loukashin, finally we were given a small wagon to accommodate our Delegation and approximately 12 passengers who had been on the waiting list in Rostov. Among these were Dr. Sumbat Yeghiazarian, Avak Melik Vardanian with his large family, and Attorney Grigor Chubar with his wife.

Sumbat Yeghiazarian was coming to Armenia from Kiev, bringing with him his uncle Prof. Yeghiazarian's rich library which would be very valuable to the University of Armenia soon to open. For weeks he had been desperately waiting in Rostov. Avak

Melik Vardanian, a specialist tanner of European training, wanted to move to Armenia to serve the Fatherland. Grigor Chubar, too, had been in Armenia, but had come to Rostov to fetch his wife. And so, many others.

Our Delegation of course was in no position to accommodate all the petitioners, with the exception of the above-mentioned three families. To this end an appeal was made to S. Loukashin, the Executive Secretary of the Regional Workers Committee, to permit these families to move to Armenia with their movable properties. S. Loukashin gladly accepted the first two, but positively refused to issue a passport for G. Chubar. He ascribed his hostility to Chubar to his zeal for the newly-created Republic of Armenia. In an offended air S. Loukashin told us how G. Chubar, after his return from Armenia, in a big public rally, with a view to ingratiating himself with the Bolsheviks, had given untrue and discrediting information about the Government of Armenia. Then he added angrily: "How can you take such a double-faced no-good fellow to Armenia? What earthly use can you expect from such persons?"

Finally, upon my importunities, he agreed to issue Chubar a passport, myself personally being responsible for his future good behavior. And indeed Loukashin's sound instinct had not deceived him. In future years G. Chubar was always on the

fence politically, until the sovietization of Armenia and after. Neither the Dashnaks nor the Bolsheviks trusted him and he was alien to both.

In one of my meetings with Loukashin there was a young Communist comrade, non-Armenian, who was especially interested in the military strength of Armenia, having in mind, no doubt, the possible sovietization of that country. Having guessed his intention and trying to curb a simpleminded youth's unrestrained appetite, I told 50,000, I said to him, each of them is more especially trained divisions whose motto is "Liberty or Death." They are called "Death Troops of the Mauserists." Although their total number scarcely reaches 50,000, I said to him, each of them is more than a match for 50 soldiers of the Red Army.

With a surprised look the naive youth turned to Loukashin to verify the truth of my statement. The latter confirmed my statement with consummate earnestness, thus pouring cold water on the youthful strategist's inflamed imagination.

While waiting in Rostov we had occasion to meet the various classes of the Armenian community of the city as well as the neighboring peasantry. Without exception all were dissatisfied with the Bolshevik regime and all expressed their desire to return to Armenia as soon as possible. Especially eager was the peasantry of Nor Nakhitchewan who were willing to leave behind their fixed property amounting to millions and take along only their movable effects. They wanted to move to the Plain of Alashkert which they knew from the war days and whose arable land compared favorably with the fertile soil of the Don region.

There was a great crowd at the Rostov Railroad Station to bid our Delegation farewell among whom were many Armenian Bolsheviks, including Loukashin. It was the wish of all to return to Armenia as soon as

possible and help rebuild the beloved country.

The beautiful banks of the Don were slowly receding from my sight and I felt myself transported in body and soul to the banks of Mother Arax, determined to build up our free and independent fatherland.

## II

Late at night we arrived at the Kavkazskaya Station which is linked with Ekaterinodar. Our train stopped here until morning and the whole of the following day. Judging from the panicky movements and the facial expression of the railway attendants it was obvious that all was not well in the immediate vicinity.

Upon inquiry we learned the following. General Wrangel's division in the Peninsula of Taman had landed on the Crimea and was fast advancing, threatening the Rostov Armavir railway line. Commissar Leon Trotsky had hastened from Moscow with an auxiliary force and had partly restored the former battle line.

The next morning our train reached Armavir where hundreds of Armenian citizens were impatiently waiting for our arrival. Among those who met us were local and immigrant Armenians, Armenian soldiers who had returned from the Polish front, and many from various regions of Armenia. All were eager to return to Armenia and wanted to know what good news we brought them. In behalf of the Delegation, the author of these lines gave a brief report to the assembled multitude in regard to our negotiations in Moscow and urged them to be patient a little longer. He assured them that the Soviet Government is friendly-inclined toward the Armenians and agrees with us that all Armenians in Russia move to Armenia. Amid the deafening applause of our compatriots our train started to move toward the Mineral Waters.

At the Station of Mineral Waters our Delegation was met by the noted Armenian Bolsheviks of Piatigorsk and Kislav-

dsk and the personnel of the Armenian Repatriation Committee of Northern Caucasus. These were interested in our Moscow negotiations, the internal condition of Armenia, our foreign relations, the repatriation of Armenian refugees, and similar questions. We satisfied all their questions. We left them in high spirits, with shouts of "Till we meet in Armenia" on all lips.

Finally we arrived at the City of Ordjonikidze (former Vladikavkaz) and stopped at the home of Father Hakop Sarikian, Armenian Consul of Northern Caucasus.

After a few days stay in this city we finally succeeded in securing a freight train to leave for Tiflis via the military road. We arrived at Tiflis without mishap. Here we learned of the details of an agreement between Legran and Djamalian which had been signed on August 10. During our stay in Moscow, despite Ordjonikidze's assurances that no military operations would be taken against Armenia until the conclusion of Moscow negotiations, with the permission of Moscow operations had started with the purpose of occupying Zangezur and Nakhitchewan. The 11th Bolshevik Army in Baku, at the request of the Azerbaijan Revolutionary Committee, to forestall the occupation of Nakhitchewan, by the Armenians, had entered Zangezur and after a stubborn fight with Armenian forces lasting one month, had succeeded in occupying the regions of Zangezur and Nakhitchewan.

After the arrival of Legran in Tiflis, the Armeno-Bolshevik fights were ended by the agreement of August 10.

In Tiflis our Delegation had an interview with Legran and wanted to know if it could proceed to Erivan to resume the interrupted negotiations. Legran told us he was too busy studying the problems of Karabagh and Zangezur and that, after visiting Baku, he would leave for Erivan in 15-20 days.

The beginning of September our Delegations arrived in Erivan to wait for the arrival of Legran's Delegation. Later we

learned that, 14 days after our departure from Moscow, on August 24, a friendship treaty had been signed between Turkey and the Bolsheviks whereby the latter promised to aid the Turks with money and arms.

It was apparent that Legran was postponing his departure to Erivan not because of the problems which involved Zangezur and Nakhitchewan but to attend the so-called "Congress of the Eastern Peoples" to assemble on September 20 in Baku. It was in this Congress that the fate of Armenia, including these two provinces, was to be settled.

The Congress of Eastern Peoples, aside from Legran, was attended by Zinoviev, Radek and many prominent Bolsheviks. Other participants were the proven authors of the Armenian massacres, Enver and Khalil Pasha's and others. Present were also Armenian Bolsheviks who had escaped from Armenia after the May Bolshevik uprising, and others from various parts of Russia and Caucasus, such as Mikoyan, Avis, S. Kassian, A. Mravian and many others who, having joined the assassin Turkish Pasha's, were conspiring against the Armenian people and the infant Republic.

### III

Immediately upon our arrival in Erivan, our Delegation gave a detailed report in regard to its mission to the Cabinet, then to the ARF fraction of the Parliament, the personnel of party bodies, the Dashnak members of civic administration and individual field workers. The report included a general description of the economic and political situation in Soviet Russia as well as the living conditions of the people and their general mood under the Soviet regime.

By our arrival in Erivan, on August 10, the well known Sevres Treaty had been signed, whereby the big Powers recognized the de jure independence of Armenia, including Turkey. The final delimitation of



the frontiers between Turkey and Armenia, affecting the regions of Erzeroum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, had been left to the arbitration of President Woodrow Wilson.

In this connection festive public rallies had taken place in the capital of Armenia and in almost all the cities in the provinces, and the Armenian people was impatiently waiting for the implementation of the Sevres Treaty. As a result of the universal enthusiasm engendered by the prospect of the Sevres Treaty, many of our government and party leaders, having underestimated the role of Russia in the solution of the Armenian Question, had ignored the presence of Red divisions within the frontiers of Armenia and had placed exaggerated hopes in the Allied Powers, having overestimated their power and their capabilities.

The Delegation of Armenia was of the opinion that, no matter how friendly inclined the Allied Powers were toward the question of a United and Independent Armenia, and no matter how unfriendly the Soviet Government was, the foremost consideration of the Armenians should be the cold reality. Our friendly "Alliance" (the Allied Powers), as Hovhannes Kachaznoui was so fond of reminding, having just returned from the United States and still transported by the promises of our American friends, were far away from our country, while the divisions of Soviet Russia already were hovering over the frontiers of Armenia and were posing a deadly threat to Armenia's independence. In view of this fact, our Delegation urged our Government to strike a common ground with the Soviet government at all cost, even at the price of abandoning the Sevres Treaty, in order to accelerate the withdrawal of the Red Army from indisputable Armenian territories.

Besides, there was an erroneous mentality in regard to the Kemalist movement and the extent of Kemal's military power. After the receipt of British supplies in arms, ammunition and clothing at the disposal of our

Republic, the prevailing opinion in certain government and party circles was that, in case of a clash with the Kemalists forces, the Armenian divisions could easily occupy the City of Erzeroum and the Erzeroum Plateau.

What was the Legran Delegation doing in Baku? What were the decisions of the "Congress of Eastern Peoples"—unknown to us? Our Government was impatiently waiting for the arrival of Legran's Delegation to finish the interrupted Moscow negotiations as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, to defeat the Armeno-Russian negotiations and to rob the Sevres Treaty of its intrinsic value, without a formal declaration of war, the Turks on September 23 attacked our military units and penetrated our frontier. The Armeno-Turkish war was on.

It was to be expected that the Soviet plenipotentiary Legran would at once come to Erivan and take prompt measures to put a stop to the war which had begun. But Legran was in no hurry. Only 20 days after the outbreak of the war, on October 11 did Legran's Delegation in a special train, and having unfurled the Red Banner, arrive at the Station of Erivan and, without detrain-ing, served our Government an ultimatum-memorandum with a 48 hour time limit for a reply.

Immediately an extraordinary session of the cabinet was called to which were invited the three members of the Moscow Delegation and Hovhannes Kachaznoui.

The Legran ultimatum proposed the following:

1 — Repudiation of the Sevres Treaty.  
2 — Free passage through Armenia to Soviet troops to join the forces of Mustafa Kemal in the fight against the Allies.

3 — The solution of boundary disputes between Armenia and her neighbors to be submitted to Soviet Russia's arbitration, and a series of secondary propositions.

There were long and heated debates in

the cabinet, particularly between Kachaznoui and the members of the Moscow Delegation. The former was for outright rejection of the Legran ultimatum, while the members of the Delegation and some of the Ministers favored acceptance with certain reservations.

Finally the Cabinet decided in favor of the Delegation's proposal and the author of these lines was commissioned to draft the Government's reply. In the next morning's session the drafted reply was confirmed and it was decided to present the same to Legran through a special delegation. In behalf of the Armenian Government the Delegation of Legran was to be led to previously prepared quarters.

At the Station Legran was given a splendid reception. He was met by Levon Zarafian, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, N. Derderian and Military Governor of Eri-van A. Shahkhatouni.

After presenting the written reply to the ultimatum on board the train, the author of these lines expressed felicitations on the Delegation's safe arrival and, in the name of the Government of Armenia, invited them to the city. Following a pertinent speech in reply Legran and his delegation alighted from the train while an orchestra struck up the strains of the "Internationale."

The members of the Legran Delegation were taken to the city in automobiles. Immediately upon arrival one of the members of Legran's delegation and adviser, Sahak Ter Gabrielian, secretly asked a private interview with me. I promptly accepted his proposal and made an appointment the same day, 4 o'clock in the afternoon in the English Park.

We met exactly at the appointed hour. Ter Gabrielian expressed his sincere satisfaction at the realistic policy of our Government. Then he confided in me a secret resolution passed in Baku. The Government of Armenia was to be presented with an ultimatum and in case of refusal Soviet

Russia would instantly start military operations. The Bolsheviks — Armenian, Russian and Turkish — shared the opinion that the Armenian Government would reject the ultimatum and Legran's delegation, without detrainning, would return to Baku after which military operations would begin. On his part, Ter Gabrielian advised us to procrastinate the negotiations until a way was found to put an end of the war with the Turks, as much as it was possible.

I thanked him deeply for this information and I hastened to the Parliament building to transmit my information to the proper authorities.

On my way a youth in the uniform of a student approached me and ordered me to follow him. Supposing he was an employee of the reserve militia, without offering any objection I followed the "student" and the two of us went to the Office of the Reserve Militia. The Chief of the Militia, Levon Kalantarian, was not there but one of his assistants seeing me greeted me cordially and, surprised, asked me what business had brought me there. Turning to my escorting youth, I nonchalantly told him that I had come to thank this youth for having performed his duty faithfully. He had a right not to recognize me since I had been absent from the city for a long time, while he apparently was employed only lately. The youth was terribly embarrassed and blushed but I instantly extended my hand and put him at ease.

The information of Sahak Ter Gabrielian was repeated solemnly, and word for word, by Ashot Hovhannesian's wife who was from my native town, a schoolmate of mine in elementary and higher schools. Although she had turned Bolshevik at her husband's pressure, but at heart she was still a strong nationalist which she proved later on a number of occasions. Even at our first meeting, in the presence of her husband, she declared jokingly that she paid little heed to these gentlemen — pointing to her

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husband — that they seriously intend to sovietize Armenia.

I naturally kept our government and party leaders fully informed in regard to all this.

#### IV

It was not until October 13 that we started our conversations with Legran delegation. On behalf of the Armenian Government the negotiations were being conducted by the personnel of our Moscow delegation, while Legran and his two advisers, Sahak Ter Gabrielian and Silin represented Soviet Russia. The latter two did not utter a word during the entire conversations.

The conversations were continued from October 13 to the end of the month. Toward the end of October finally the draft of the Russo-Armenian agreement was completed, before the fall of Kars. The Treaty, signed by both sides, included the following main points:

1 — The Soviet Government recognizes the independence of Armenia and pledges herself not to interfere in the internal affairs of our state.

2 — Zangezour shall be included in the boundary of Armenia, while the regions of Karabagh and Nakhitchevan shall be settled by the arbitration of Soviet Russia.

3 — Soviet Russia shall intercede to put a stop to the Armeno-Turkish war and the Armeno-Turkish boundary dispute shall be settled through the friendly mediation of Soviet Russia.

4 — In case of repudiation of the Sevres Treaty, the Soviet Government pledges itself to bear pressure on the Turks to cede to Armenia certain territories from the Province of Erzeroum.

5 — Small units of the Russian army would be allowed to cross the Turkish border via Armenia and 30 percent of the military supplies to be delivered to Turkey would be placed at the disposal of the Armenian Government, to be kept in storage as a trust, and to be used in case Turkey

made use of said military supplies to attack Armenia.

6 — Soviet Russia agrees to pay to Armenia a sum of two and a half million gold rubles as compensation for losses sustained by the Armenian workers as a result of the world war started by the imperialists.

7 — Armenia would receive a sufficient quantity of fuel oil at cost price.

8 — Armenia would receive gratis various agricultural implements, a certain number of locomotives and freight wagons.

9 — To utilize the cotton of Armenia for local use, Armenia would receive, likewise gratis, the necessary number of spinning mills and two textile plants with complete equipment.

10 — The treasures of Etchmiadzin stored up in Moscow, the Armenian manuscripts preserved in Armenian populated cities of Russia, historical archives and all works of literary or artistic value were to be transferred to Armenia.

11 — Soviet Russia volunteers to permit the repatriation to Armenia of all Armenian immigrants, as well as all the Armenians who live in Russia, with all their movable effects, and a number of other points.

The preceding preliminary draft of the agreement, being signed by both sides, Legran left for Baku, with the intention of obtaining Moscow's final assent and to return immediately.

#### V

Before Legran's return the fortress of Kars fell unexpectedly and our military units, perfectly demoralized as a result of Bolshevik propaganda and underground activity, and panicky, retreated toward Alexandropol. Soon after, our troops evacuated Alexandropol and Surmalu which were stubbornly defended to the last by small contingents under the command of Dro.

Legran returned but nothing was ever said in regard to the signed treaty, either on our side or by Legran. It was perfectly plain

to us that Legran and his comrades were only thinking of sovietizing Armenia a day sooner.

Highly significant was a statement of the Tsarist General Popovich, military Attache of Legran's delegation, uttered in my presence at the home of Dro. When the latter asked about Russia's mediation to restrain the Turks, General Popovich, completely intoxicated, said cynically: "You cannot revive a corpse."

Soviet Russia encouraged and sharpened the nationalistic appetite of the Turks on the one hand, extended to them military and economic aid, and through her invitation of "the Congress of Eastern Peoples" accelerated Kemalist Turkey's attack on the Armenian Republic. On the other hand, through her Armenian Bolshevik agents demoralized the Armenian Army and thus aided in the cheap victory of the Turks. After all this, we have all the more right to characterize General Popovich's above-mentioned statement as "cynical."

Thus, by characterizing Independent Armenia as a corpse, the Soviet Government was thinking of sovietizing Armenia as soon as possible, while the Government of Armenia was thinking of making peace with the Turks to save Armenia from sovietization.

On November 24 Dr. H. Ohandjanian's cabinet was replaced by the cabinet of Simon Vratzian which immediately appealed to the Turkish Grand National Council to start the peace negotiations. Simon Vratzian's Government still entertained a dim hope of coming to an understanding with the Turks and thus to save Armenia from sovietization.

Milli movement's National Grand Assembly accepted our Government's proposition and peace negotiations were started at Alexandropol. The negotiator for the Kemalists was Kiazim Karabekir Pasha, the Commander-in-chief of the front, while the negotiators for Armenia were Alexander

Khatissian, Abraham Giulkhandanian, Vahan Minakhorian, and Military Governor of Kars, General Korganian, Unfortunately, Kiazim Karabekir's terms were too harsh for our delegation.

In these fateful and critical days for the Armenian Republic, the Armenian Bolsheviks, with the aid of the Red division of Baku, treacherously struck in our back and on November 29 entered the Village of Idjevan in Kazakh. The next day Legran presented the Armenian Government with an ultimatum, demanding the sovietization of Armenia.

There could be no longer any talk of the choose one of the two: either the Turkish or the Russian supremacy.

Immediately an extraordinary council was called, with the participation of the members of the Dashnak fraction of the Parliament, the former and current ministers, and Party leaders. There were a few individuals who proposed to drive out the Bolsheviks from the region of Khazakh by armed force, come to an understanding with the Turks at all cost, and to put an end to the Armeno-Turkish war.

The discussions lasted until late in the night when Khatissian sent word from Alexandropol that the Turks were intoxicated with their cheap victory, and that it was impossible to accede to their demands.

After listening to the report of the delegation's President Alexander Khatissian there was a deep silent in the spacious hall and all discussion came to an end. The situation was plain. To save the physical existence of the Armenian people, despite our will, we were forced temporarily to resign from Armenia's independence. The Government was advised to enter into immediate negotiations with Legran. The heavy responsibility of conducting the negotiations was assigned by the Government to Dro and the author of these lines.

The negotiations were started on Decem-

ber 1 and ended on December 2 with the signing of the following agreement:

"December 2, 1920. On behalf of the Government of Soviet Russia Plenipotentiary Representative Comrade Legran for the First Party, and Comrades Dro and H. Terterian representing the Government of the Republic of Armenia for the Second Party, have signed the following agreement:

"1 — Armenia hereby is declared an independent Socialist Soviet Republic.

"2 — Until the invitations to the Convention of the Soviets of Armenia a temporary government called the Military-Revolutionary Committee shall take full charge of the Government of Armenia.

"3 — The Government of Soviet Russia agrees to the admission into the boundaries of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia, as indisputable territories, the Province of Erivan with all her districts, a part of the Province of Kars which, from the strategic viewpoint, insures the domination of the railway line from the Station of Djadjour to the Station of Arax, the district of Zangezour of the Province of Gandzak and a part of the Province of Khazakh, and by the agreement of August 10, those parts of the Province of Tiflis which were under the rule of Armenia until September 28, 1920.

"4 — The High Command of the Armenian Army is not held responsible for the actions of the army until the declaration of Armenia's sovietization.

"5 — The members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnak Party) and other socialist parties (Social Revolutionaries and Social Democrats) shall not be persecuted for their association with these parties nor for their participation in the fights against the Communist Party before the declaration of Armenia's sovietization.

"6 — The Military-Revolutionary Committee shall consist of five members appointed by the Communist Party, and two members from the leftist faction of the

Dashnak Party, with the assent of the Communist Party.

"7 — The Government of Soviet Russia will take immediate steps to concentrate the necessary military forces for the defence of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia.

"8 — After the signing of this agreement, the Government of the Republic of Armenia shall withdraw from power. Until the arrival of the Revolutionary Committee, the government will be temporarily held by the military command headed by Dro. On behalf of the USSR, Comrade Silin is appointed Commissar of the Armenian Military Command.

"Done in two copies.

"For the USSR, signed by plenipotentiary representative Legran.

"For the Government of the Republic of Armenia, signed by Dro and Terterian."

Those of us who negotiated for the Government of Armenia knew well that under the Bolshevik regime there could be no such thing as an independent Armenia but we purposely inserted the provision in Article I in order to emphasize the fact that Armenia was *independent* as before, and that the operation was a mere *change in regimes*.

Article 3 was a pure formality. We inserted it deliberately, dictated by the fear that, in case the Turks advanced on Armenia before the arrival of the Russian army, Moscow would be obliged, at least on paper, to expel them from Armenian soil. We had the same apprehension as regards Georgia which, taking advantage of Armenia's distress, had violated the neutral zone on August 28 and had occupied the railroad center of Sanahin.

The fourth and fifth articles were highly important. Although we had no clear idea of the moral concepts of the Bolsheviks, the Armenian Bolsheviks in particular, we inserted these articles to exempt from future persecution those individuals who have been mentioned in these articles, at least



temporarily. During the examination of Article 5 Legran openly admitted that a few of Dashnak leaders will be held in confinement temporarily but that is only a side issue. When we asked who these individuals are Legran candidly revealed the names: Rouben Ter Minasian, Sarkis Araratian, Gen. Sepouh and Levon Kalantarian. We at once surmised that the first to be arrested were those who had suppressed the May adventure of the Bolsheviks and the leaders of the Reserve Militia of Armenia. \*

Article 6 was inserted in the agreement at the proposal of Legran who personally drafted it. The Dashnak Party had no wings or factions, either right or left, but the Bolsheviks wanted to create such wings artificially in order to persuade their followers that Soviet Russia was cooperating not with the Dashnak Party in general, but only with its left wing; and secondly, their intention was to divide and disrupt the Dashnak Party from within.

There was one article which I personally pressed but which was excluded from the treaty. That was, since the members of Alexandropol Delegation had had no share in the sovietization of Armenia, they should be free to leave the country if they did not want to stay behind. Why did I insist on this article? I was hundred percent sure that the Bolsheviks would not respect the treaty and the Dashnaks would be persecuted. I was particularly worried about Alexander Khatissian and Gen. Korganian; the first as a former associate of Vorontzov-Dashkov, Tsarist Russia's Viceroy of Caucasus, and the second as a former police officer of Tsarist Russia.

Legran found it superfluous to insert a similar article in the agreement since Article 5 already had insured the inviolability of

\* The expression "Reserve Militia," used throughout in this memoirs, obviously refers to the Security Police. — ED.

person. As to the delegation of Alexandropol, Legran gave "a Communist's word of honor" that their wishes would be respected. To his credit, I am constrained to mention here that Legran kept his word in regard to the three members of that delegation, by allowing them to leave the country of their own free will. The fourth member of the delegation, Vahan Minakhorian did not want to take advantage of his privilege and preferred to remain in Armenia.

The copy of the drafted agreement was presented to the Government the night of December 1. In that last session of the Republic's Government present were Dr. H. Ohanjanian and Rouben Ter Minassian.

After presenting a detailed account of our negotiations with Legran, we produced the copy of the agreement which was accepted by the Government in entirety and we were asked to sign it in the next session.

In the same meeting it was also decided that Rouben Ter Minassian, S. Araratian and Levon Kalantarian should leave the country, while General Sepouh already had crossed from Dilijan to Georgia via Karakillisseh.

On December 2, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the document of the Sovietization of Armenia was signed, consisting of eight articles, while the government, in accordance with Article 8, to 6 o'clock in the evening, was transferred to Dro and Commissar Silin.

S. Vratzian and the author of these lines lingered at the Prime Minister's office until 6 o'clock, then we left the Government Building with broken hearts and shattered dreams.

### Epilogue

The reader will of course remember the remark of the USSR Commissar of Foreign Affairs, made during the first meeting with the Delegation of Armenia in regard to the Sovietization of Armenia. Chicherin had observed that Soviet Russia was moving southward in order to liberate the small

Imperialists, having for its slogan the political autonomy of oppressed small peoples. This is not true.

To Moscow, the sovietization of Armenia was not a matter of principle which emanated from the right of nations to self-determination, but only a matter of temporary expediency.

Toward the end of April, 1920, after the sovietization of Azerbaijan, the goal of the Red Army was India via Iran in order to bring England to her knees. The illiterate soldiers of the Red Army had been indoctrinated by the Bolshevik Commissars. In Erivan, when we asked them why they had come to Armenia, like parrots they repeated in unison: "We are going to India to hoist there the Revolution's Red Banner, then we shall return to Russia and choose us a king."

Thus, Soviet Russia needed plenty of time before she could reach India, the last station of her forward movement, return home, remove the independence of the "liberated" small peoples, then force upon them the Soviet regime.

Why then was Armenia so quickly sovietized, and a few months later Georgia? A series of internal and external adverse circumstances were the cause of the procrastinations which culminated in the premature sovietization of Armenia.

In the first part of my memoirs it was mentioned that it was Soviet Russia which initiated the Armeno-Bolshevik conversations in Moscow. During this period, with the exception of the newly-created Estonian Republic, the Soviets recognized none, and the Bolsheviks, following their new motto of "All faces to the West," wanted to raise Kemalist Turkey against Europe and with this aim they made a proposition to the Turks. Incidentally, the Allied Powers did not recognize Kemalist Turkey at the time.

Thus, the national interests of Soviet Russia and Kemalist Turkey temporarily coincided. By aiding the Kemalists the Soviet

intended to use them to pursue her own aims, while the Kemalists meant to use the Russian aid to save Turkey from certain dismemberment, as well as to defeat the creation of independent Armenia.

To shun the obligation of the preceding proposition the leaders of the Kemalist movement very cleverly advanced the needless worry that "Armenia might strike them in the rear." It was to remove this fictitious "apprehension" that Moscow was eager to settle the Armeno-Turkish feud as soon as possible.

This was a partial reason why, at the early stages of the conversations, they were very cordial to our Delegation while in Moscow, and why, by the middle of June, the preliminary draft of quite a satisfactory treaty was completed.

In those days, for reasons at the time unknown to us, the signing of the Treaty was procrastinated and in the end it was never signed. Only afterwards it became plain that, thanks to the efforts of Radek, Pavlovich and others who wielded a great influence on the foreign policy of the Soviets, a radical change was being made in the foreign policy of Soviet Russia which was tantamount to a reversal of 180 degrees.

The false Bolshevik agents of the Kemalists, taking advantage of the naivete of the Radeks and the Pavloviches, had contrived to win over Moscow to the more practical policy of "Facing the East." That to say, by relying on the multi-million Mohammedan masses of the East, to destroy England's imperialism in India and elsewhere.

After this radical change in the foreign policy of Soviet Russia the Armenian people and their independent existence had lost their value as political factors and had ceased to be a matter of interest to the Bolsheviks. That was one of the chief reasons for the premature sovietization of Armenia.

No less an important role in the acceleration of the sovietization of Armenia was

played by the Armenian Bolsheviks, Moscow's fifth column, the traitors of the nation and the Fatherland, who muddled the minds of the Armenian people and broke the morale of the Armenian army by deliberately promoting panic among them right in the midst of the battle. By joining the assassin Turkish Pasha's, Soviet Russia's agents — the Armenian Bolsheviks shamelessly conspired against their father-

land in order to build "socialism" in Armenia with the aid of Enver and Kemal Pasha's.

For their important contribution to the establishment of the Soviet regime in Armenia, the Armenian Bolsheviks received their worthy reward. Later they were all ruthlessly executed by Moscow as traitors and spies.

## THE HIGHER COMMUNION

*Groping  
wandering  
searching*

*Wearily I drift  
ever and anon into  
dim silent churches*

*Shake off  
mundane creeds  
and deeds*

*In this mystic tryst  
slowly I attain a  
deep quietude*

*After an eerie interval  
I hear The Voice  
accompanied by  
celestial refrains*

*Then heaven and earth  
blend into a mighty  
symphony that reverberates  
through my spirit for  
blessed days. . .*

CARL LEON ZEYTOONIAN

# THE UNITED STATES AND THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

GILBERT K. NERSESIAN

In the comparatively few years of its existence, the United States has participated in the settlement of many international problems. The results of some were successful, but there were also those attempts which were failures. And, unfortunately, one of these was the failure in the Armenian Question.

In 1918 the hopes and aspirations of a persecuted people appeared to be approaching fulfillment. The Armenian had risen out of the depths of Turkish bondage. He accomplished this result by fighting the Turk on common ground. By the organization of five battalions of troops, plus the formation of guerilla units, the Armenian was responsible for the defeat of three Turkish offensives and the Turkish campaign of 1916.<sup>1</sup> When 250,000 Russian troops abandoned the Caucasus after the Bolshevik revolution, the Armenian forces, consisting of 20,000 men, alone held the line against 100,000 Turks.

On May 28, 1918 the Republic of Armenia was declared, and with the defeat of the Turkish Army at Sardarabad, an armistice and recognition of Armenia was concluded with Turkey. In engaging five Turkish divisions in the Caucasus, the Armenians brought about the collapse of the Turkish Palestinian front, from which Turkish troops had been withdrawn and sent to fight the Armenians.<sup>2</sup> This fact was attested to by

General Von Sanders, German Commander-in-Chief of the Syrian front.

Because of their need for oil, the Central Powers concentrated their efforts on obtaining control of the Baku oil fields. In Baku were 12,000 Armenian troops, who, knowing what the oil at Baku meant to the German war effort, decided to defend the city. On March 31, 1918 Turko-Tartar hordes attacked Baku. After one week of fighting, the enemy had lost more than 10,000 men, while the Armenian forces suffered 2,500 dead. After this initial battle, the Turks committed greater numbers of troops to the fighting. Meanwhile, 2,500 British troops from Persia reinforced the Armenian garrison. However, on September 14, 1920, following a series of bloody battles, the Armenian and British forces were compelled to evacuate Baku.

Because of this Armenian resistance, it took the Turks nine months to take Baku.

In testimony to the importance of this defense was the statement by General Ludendorff, German Commander-in-chief of the Western front, in his memoirs. This statement read: "The principal factor that forced the breakdown of the German Army in the west was due to the lack of fuel supply, created by the failure of the Turks to reach Baku in time."<sup>3</sup>

As this action had helped to shorten the war, it directly affected the United States. Colonel John Price Jackson of the Harbord

<sup>1</sup> G. Pasdermajian, *Why Armenia Should Be Free* (Boston, 1918), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Vratzian, *Armenia and the Armenian Question* (Boston, 1943), p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, *The Lausanne Treaty and Kemalist Turkey* (Boston, 1924), p. 35.

Military Mission to the Near East said that if the Armenians had not done their duty so heroically and well, "grave markers for five or ten Americans would be standing overseas where one now stands. . ."<sup>4</sup>

At this time the Allies could not help admiring the courageous efforts of the Armenians in their struggle towards autonomy. Allied leaders such as Lloyd George of Great Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy all affirmed their recognized support for a free and independent Armenia. A typical statement was one made by Orlando in November 18, 1918 in which he said: "Say to the Armenians that I make their cause my cause."<sup>5</sup>

With such strong affirmations, the Armenians could not help feeling that the hundreds of years of struggle for freedom had attained realization. They felt and hoped that the Turkey which came out of the war would never be able to plague them again. However, the price they paid for their freedom was over 1,000,000 dead.<sup>6</sup>

In the United States there was a great statesman who was also a great humanitarian. This person was President Wilson, sometimes called "the great white father" by the Armenians.<sup>7</sup> He had always been sympathetic to the Armenian cause, but was powerless to do anything for it because of opposition from the isolationist coalition in Congress.

On June 8, 1918 he set down his famous *Fourteen Points* of which the twelfth point read in part: "The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of autonomous development."<sup>8</sup> This point

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Albert K. Nersesian was born in Worcester in 1931 and has lived there ever since with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Hagop and Taqouhi Nersesian, both natives of Tadem, Armenia. Nersesian attended Worcester public schools, graduated from high school in 1950, and had completed two years of work in civil engineering at Worcester Polytechnical Institute when, as he puts it, "like many others I was called into service. I served two years with the U. S. Army, 14 months of it with the 31st Infantry Regiment of the 7th Infantry Regiment, 7th U. S. Infantry Division, in Korea. This past Spring I resumed my education at the University of Massachusetts where my paper, 'The United States and the Armenian Question' was submitted for credit."

"Besides being a student of Armenian affairs," he says, "my interests include classical music, photography, and firearms collecting. I am a member of the Armenian Youth Federation of America, the American Ordnance Association, and the National Rifle Association."

"The United States and the Armenian Question" is Gilbert Nersesian's first contribution to THE REVIEW.

was in direct accord with Armenian aspirations. Also, whenever the opportunity presented itself, President Wilson would speak out for the Armenians. In a speech at Mechanics Hall in Boston, Massachusetts, he appealed to the American people to insure the independence of Armenia.<sup>9</sup> Ten days after the Armistice, President Wilson stated: "I feel very strongly that the Armenians should be given their independence."<sup>10</sup>

That the Allies recognized Wilson's interest in Armenia was apparent when they asked him, in accordance with section VI, article 89 of the Sevres Treaty, to define the boundaries of a free and independent Armenia.<sup>11</sup> This request was promptly carried out by President Wilson. In trying to protect this newly formed republic, President Wilson wanted the United States to take a mandate over it. The decision for a

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

<sup>5</sup> Vratzian, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Pasdermadjian, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Even today Armenians may refer to Wilson by this name

<sup>8</sup> Vratzian, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *The Lausanne Treaty: Turkey and Armenia* (New York, 1926), p. 188.

<sup>10</sup> Vratzian, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> Vratzian, p. 53.



mandate was not a hasty one. In August 1919, Wilson had sent a military mission, headed by General John G. Harbord, to the Near East with instructions to investigate possibilities for mandates there. The mission returned in the fall of the same year and made its report to the President. After careful consideration, President Wilson decided that a mandate over Armenia would be feasible and made plans to introduce an Armenian mandate proposal to Congress.

Meanwhile Armenia found that her troubles did not end with the defeat of the Central Powers. Under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, Turkey again rose to power. On several occasions attacks by the Kemalist Turks was repulsed. However, on September 22, 1920, forty-two days after the signing of the Sevres Treaty, great numbers of Turks attacked Armenia from the south.<sup>12</sup> These forces were outfitted at Baku with arms and munitions supplied by Russia, France, and Italy.<sup>13</sup> Yes, the same countries who had a month before signed the Sevres Treaty with Armenia, now provided her enemy with arms. Also, as a result of an alliance between the Kemalist Turks and the Russian Bolsheviks, Armenia was attacked from the north by the forces of the "hammer and sickle."<sup>14</sup>

This new threat to the Armenian Republic was turning its hopes to despair. Here was a nation situated between Scylla and Charybdis — "between the Bolshevik sledge and the Turkish anvil."<sup>15</sup> Its resources and youth had been expended in helping the Allies win the war. Many of its people were starving and homeless. Now Armenia again had to defend itself. When she ap-

pealed for help, she found that the Allies had turned their backs on her. France, who had pledged herself to help Armenia, now supplied the murderers of Mustapha Kemal with arms. Italy, who had once wanted to be the liberator of Armenia, now ferried the Turkish troops to the Armenian front.<sup>16</sup> Armenia's only hope was 6,000 miles away in a land called America.

In the United States the Congress, realizing the Armenian need, now quibbled over how aid to her would be administered. The Democrats favored aid through a mandate, while the Republicans, led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, strove for direct aid.

President Wilson as we have seen, had thoroughly investigated the advantages and disadvantages of a mandate over Armenia. Being a very conscientious person, he must have strongly felt that a mandate for Armenia would be the best way to aid her, for on May 24, 1920 he was to introduce in Congress a resolution to that effect. Many people besides President Wilson felt that the United States could easily follow its mandate over the Philippines by one over Armenia.<sup>17</sup> Others felt that the United States had a moral obligation to protect its little ally.<sup>18</sup> As an article in the *New Republic* stated: "In return for an American mandate the United States would receive consciousness of a job well done, of a nation saved, and a reduction of disorder in the world."<sup>19</sup>

However, the traditionally conservative Republican party included a few members with isolationistic tendencies. The predominant reasons offered by these men against a mandate were: (1) as this country had not declared war on Turkey, it should not

<sup>12</sup> The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *The Lausanne Treaty: Turkey and Armenia* (Supplement) (New York, 1927), pp. 48-49.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> "Armenia Overwhelmed by Enemies," *Current History Magazine*, XIII, part 2 (January, 1921, p. 72).

<sup>15</sup> Vratzian, p. 65.

<sup>16</sup> The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, (Supplement), p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> "American and Armenia," *New Republic*, XVIII (March 8, 1919), p. 168.

<sup>18</sup> "Our Moral Obligation to Protect Armenia," *Literary Digest*, LXVI (July 3, 1920), p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> "American and Armenia," *New Republic*, XVIII (March 8, 1919), 169.

interfere in Near East affairs; (2) any American aid through a mandate to Armenia would be constructed by Europe as an imperialistic attempt; (3) the expense of a mandate would be too great; (4) the Near East was 6,000 miles away and American forces stationed there would be very susceptible to attack by an enemy.<sup>20</sup>

These reasons were baseless. The United States had refrained from declaring war on Turkey, in order to protect the American citizens and interests there.<sup>21</sup> The European Powers at this time were so exhausted and tired, that they would have welcomed any American aid to Armenia. The cost of an Armenian mandate would have been small, as it would have covered a territory of only 66,000 square miles and not the 400,000 square miles stated in the Harbord Report. Considering also that Armenia did have an army, fewer American troops would have been required. This meant that the cost would have been even less.

As an alternative the Republicans offered a proposal extending direct aid to Armenia. On June 22, 1919 Senators Lodge and Root, Judge Hughes, and others urged President Wilson to send food, munitions, and supplies for 50,000 men to Armenia. In August the same group urged the president to send troops to Armenia. Finally, in December of that year, the same three urged the President to give up the mandate proposal and extend the necessary aid to Armenia by direct agreement.<sup>22</sup>

On May 27, 1920 the Senate formally rejected the Wilson mandate proposal. This action was its death blow. However, on September 8, 1919 a resolution, authorizing the President to send American troops and

equipment for an Armenian Army to Armenia, had been offered by Senator Williams. Hearings on this bill were held by a subcommittee under the Chairmanship of Senator Harding.

Because of this resolution, 12,000 troops which France was to send to Armenia were held up and Great Britain cancelled the shipment of arms and munitions to Armenia.<sup>23</sup> One month after the introduction of the resolution, Senator Harding stated that he realized the desperate situation of Armenia, and that he would report and specify his recommendations at once.<sup>24</sup> However, no report was made until May 13, 1920, or seven months later, and this report did not contain any recommendations. It seems that Senator Harding, who was going to be the Republican candidate for President in the coming election, was too busy with his political aspirations.<sup>25</sup> Even after becoming President, however, Harding maintained that he still believed in an independent Armenia.<sup>26</sup>

However, the delay of one and one-half years caused by the United States in the Armenian Question led to the downfall of the Armenian Republic. First of all, it deprived Armenia of the opportunity to seek help elsewhere. The delay also led to the changed positions of the Allies on Armenia, and allowed Turkey again to become powerful.<sup>27</sup>

As we have seen, the Turks and Bolsheviks together attacked Armenia. After three weeks of fighting, the Bolsheviks delivered Turkish demands to the Armenian Government. These demands included: (1) renunciation of the Sevres Treaty; (2) pas-

<sup>20</sup> P. M. Brown, "Mandate over Armenia," *American Journal of International Law*, XIV (July, 1920), 396-399.

<sup>21</sup> L. Einstein, "Armenian Mandate" *Nation* CX (July 3, 1920), 762.

<sup>22</sup> American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, *The Lausanne Treaty and Kemalist Turkey*, 14.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, p. 121.

<sup>25</sup> The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, (Supplement), 53.

<sup>26</sup> The American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, p. 122.

<sup>27</sup> American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, p. 16.

sage to the Red Army through Armenia, (3) Russian mediation over boundary quarrels between Armenia and Turkey.<sup>28</sup> Armenia categorically rejected the first of these demands.

Three weeks later when the power of her enemies was too great to resist, and when it was apparent that she was deserted by the whole world, she "accepted" the Turkish demands of peace. On December 2 1920 the Bolsheviks took over the Armenian Government. Two months later the Armenians successfully overthrew the puppet government, but within five months the little country was again overrun by the Red Army.<sup>29</sup>

With their reinstatement to power, the Turks began to again play the international game of intrigue. By waving the Mosul and Armenian oil fields in front of the Great Powers as bait, the Turks were able to gain offers of friendship from them. Through this medium the Turks eventually obtained a revision of the Sevres Treaty which changed it to their favor. However, on the other side of the balance, the fate of Armenia reached a low ebb. In the revision of the treaty, Armenia was to be made into a state or national home for the Armenians.<sup>30</sup>

The double-dealing Turks realized that unstable Europe was no longer the world center of power. Therefore, they now turned to America with their wares in order to gain recognition by the United States. The first step in achieving this goal was to announce Turkish reforms such as the abolishment of harems, the change of European dress, and the limitation of four wives to each Moslem. The next step was to grant the Chester Concession to an American business interest. This concession valued at

2,000,000,000 dollars, allowed the exploitation of the Mosul oil fields.<sup>31</sup> With the publicity of the various reforms, plus the influential backing of business interests, the Turks soon found favor in the State Department of the United States.<sup>32</sup>

During this period President Harding had continuously avowed his wishes for an independent Armenia, but his was a support through words and not through action.<sup>33</sup> On July 23, 1924 the Great Powers signed the Lausanne Treaty. On August 6, 1924 the United States also signed. The Lausanne Treaty recognized Turkey as a civilized and honorable nation, while it made no mention of Armenia who now lay helplessly divided between Turkey and Russia.

Public indignation was so great that various groups were organized to oppose the ratification of this treaty. The foremost among these was the American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty. Finally on January 18, 1927, the Senate rejected the Lausanne Treaty. By this time Armenia had been sovietized and was under the thumb of Red Russia.<sup>34</sup> Armenia's true feelings could no longer be expressed.

The failure of the United States to aid Armenia to keep her independence can not be blamed on the American people. They were not responsible. However, a relatively small group was indirectly, in some cases directly, to blame. Among these people were the isolationists who were in Congress, the politicians who placed their political futures ahead of humanitarianism, the unscrupulous businessmen who sold a country down the river, and those blind individuals who could not realize that the Turk never changes. Even in World War II the

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> The Armenians are the only nation who have successfully overthrown a communist government.

<sup>30</sup> Vratzian, p. 57.

<sup>31</sup> American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, p. 53.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>34</sup> American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, p. 20.

Turk played both sides of the table. On his face is a smile of friendship, while in his hand is a sword of death.

The two proposals for aid to Armenia were equally good, and would have sufficed Armenia's need. If Armenia had received the aid she needed, she could have sufficiently recovered to hold her own in a short period of time. Armenia had many natural resources which were undeveloped. The exploitation of these resources could have provided part of her economy.

Because of this country's failure, Armenia has been under Communist rule for thirty-four years. It seems ironic that we now find her oppressors our world enemy. This

fact gives Armenia a common bond with the United States. Therefore, the only way the United States can morally redeem itself is to reinstate a free and independent Armenia as soon as possible. Because of the present world situation, this reinstatement can only be accomplished with the fall of communism. Meanwhile, what is the attitude of the Armenian people? I think the words of Friedtjof Nansen best express the answer.<sup>35</sup> "The Armenian people have never lost its hope; it has waited, waited long. It will always wait."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Friedtjof Nansen is the author of *Armenia and the Near East*, New York, 1928.

<sup>36</sup> Vratzian, p. 107.

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# NO INDIVIDUALS IN THE MARXIST SCHEME

ARMEN SANINIAN

At the door of the prison office two guards were waiting for me. I did not know they were taking me.

"Come along," barked the older of the two. It was a cold winter night, snow covering the ground. The streets practically were deserted. No one paid us any attention.

"Are we going to the station?" I asked the soldier.

"Don't talk, It is forbidden," the soldier snarled.

In the houses the blinds of the windows were pulled down tightly, allowing pale rays of the light inside to filter through the marginal openings. There was something familiar and warm in these flickering rays, making me visualize the inside of the cold walls. It must be warm inside, I thought. The crackling fire in the stove could only spread peace and comfort all around.

We entered the main street of the city. Far ahead of us was a cluster of lights and we could hear the sound of a faint music. The nearer we came the lights the louder grew the music. From all sides of the street, the people — men, women and children — were hurrying to the site of the music.

Presently we heard a clear, melancholy ringing voice, singing a passage from the music of Komitas.

*Tchrevi vra tekvel e ourin  
Ou nayoum e na bosogh tchrerin  
Over the waters the willow bends  
Looking over the flowing waters*

I had a feeling of having been dipped into a pool of ice water, then hot water, and again ice water. I had goose pimples all over my body. I thought of the father-

land, sunny in the daytime and jet black in the night, and sometimes so luminous that one would think the moon had come down and settled on the rooftops, shedding its light and illuminating the whole world. I remembered the old stream which tumbled over the blue boulders, singing a song, by day and by night. And there was the willow tree, bending low, as if the whole weight of my people's anguish had been loaded on its shoulders. Bending over the waters of the stream, the willow tree is singing a song, melodious, plaintive. You cannot tell whether it is the voice of the stream, or some Armenian mother who has lost her son wailing her loss.

We never reached the cluster of lights. The music receded in the distance. This was a dark street, and cold. The bleak wind whistled and I began to shiver.

"Where are they taking me?" I asked myself. Suddenly a glad voice within me responded, "perhaps they are taking you to the execution."

"Execution!" This was a veritable discovery — a joyful, redeeming discovery. Freedom! Freedom from slavery, freedom from infinite, unutterable physical and spiritual sufferings. There would be no more of those beastly commissars, the inspectors, the slave cargo trains, the cells, the filth, the cold, the hunger, the thirst to live and to be free!

It will be restful, and peaceful.

It will be nothing!

I felt warm inside. The fever of the joy



of death seized me and I started to cry.

We finally reached an imposing looking building. There were two guards at the gate. The waiting room was warm and comfortable. Scores of men scurried in and out. The telephones on the desk kept ringing. They were bringing in new prisoners, all with dull and staring faces. Pitiful faces, full of fear, submissive like lambs. When they were ordered to stop, to walk, or to raise their hands, they moved so fast as if swiftness was a condition of their living. Man in his cowardice is a disgusting thing.

They kept me waiting for a long time in the waiting room. Finally, toward midnight, the order came to settle me in some cell. As the door of my cell opened, the inspector who was escorting me roughly pushed me inside for no cause at all. This seemed to be the last straw which broke the camel's back. The cup of my patience was filled and I insulted the man with a strong word.

He was in the act of closing the door behind me when he again opened it and took a step inside.

"What did you say?" he hissed at me, menacingly.

"You heard me," I said defiantly.

"I'll show you to talk to me like that!" He was about to hit me, but reflecting that being all alone in that cell was highly dangerous, he closed the door and went away.

I looked for a place to sit down and finding none I stood there behind the door. I was stunned by what had happened. I thought the insulting word I used would cost me dearly.

"Young man, I see you are tired of life. They will shoot you for that insult," I heard a voice.

I looked in the direction of the voice and only then realized that the cell was filled with inmates, all of whom were looking at me with astonished, frightened eyes. They were afraid for having heard my insult, although I had spoken after their heart.

"Let them shoot me. I want them to shoot me," I replied, and I was surprised at my own audacity.

One of the inmates pulled up his legs. "Sit down," he said.

I sat down, waiting for the coming tortures. I did not think they would shoot me, but my punishment would be terrible enough.

A half hour later we heard the creaking of the door. The Inspector whom I had insulted was standing at the threshold, his finger pointed at me.

"This is the man," he said to the Chief Inspector of the prison who stood beside him.

The Chief Inspector asked my name, the story of my arrival there, the last prison where I was detained, jotted down the answers on a pad, and then the two left us.

After their departure the air in the cell became oppressive. The inmates would not speak to me for fear they might be implicated in my case. They did not summon me that night.

The following night they summoned me. The five minutes it took from the aisle to the interrogation room seemed like five years to me. Physical fear took hold of me. My body was being torn to pieces in anticipation of the tortures I had not yet experienced.

After my escort had left the room the Inspector fixed me with a long searching look.

"Sit down," he finally ordered. The invitation was timely because, by this time, there was no strength left in me to stand on foot.

"How long since you were arrested?" The Inspector was calm.

To tell the truth, I could not tell how long. Perhaps ten years, or one hundred years. During the whole period of my imprisonment I had never asked myself such a question. I had completely lost the sense of time. I did not know the year, the month,

the day we were living. It seemed to me I had spent my whole life in jails.

"I don't know how long, Citizen Inspector."

The trace of a smile flitted across his face. It was an agreeable face. His voice was not gruff like when he spoke to his other fellow officers. His gestures were gentle and refined.

"Never mind, it's not so important," he said assuringly. "I am not going to interrogate you anew. I have all that information in your file. I have summoned you here for security reasons. There is a complaint against you for having insulted an officer of the prison."

"Yes, that's right."

He again wanted to smile.

"Why did you insult him?"

"First, because he insulted me with deeds, for no cause at all."

"What did he do?"

"He pushed me inside roughly when there was no need of it at all."

He smiled.

"Is this the first time they have treated you roughly?"

"No, I have been treated more roughly a million times."

"Well then?"

"This time my patience was exhausted."

He became serious.

"You must be patient always," he said solemnly.

"Why?"

He was surprised at my question. "Why?" he asked. "Because you are not free."

"But I am a man, I am a human being."

He again laughed. "You intellectuals are a strange lot," he said amused. "Hundreds of people have sat in front of this desk and it is always the same bourgeois, senseless plea. 'I am a human being.'"

"What do you call the real man?"

"The real man is he who serves our cause."

"And what am I now?"

"A moving, talking object."

"How long shall I remain this way?"

"That depends on you. You have ten years. Try to show during those years that you have changed."

"I am going to try to run away."

"Where are you going?"

"I am going to flee abroad."

"I don't advise you to try it," he observed seriously.

"Why? I love freedom."

"There is no freedom abroad," he laughed.

"They don't make a slave of me there."

"Because there is no need of it. Over there, with the exception of the capitalists, all the rest are slaves but they don't know it."

"I don't understand."

"It's very plain. They are the slaves of conditions. Take yourself, for an example. Let us suppose you succeeded in escaping abroad. The capitalists will not give one kopek for your black eyes. That you have served in prisons means nothing to them. The capitalists despise the idealists. They are practical men."

"I don't need their money but their freedom."

"Without money there is no freedom abroad."

"Where there are strikes there must be freedom."

"These strikes are the creation of the capitalists. It is expedient for them to incite these strikes, so that, by throwing a few crumbs to the workers, they can keep their hold on millions."

"But you yourselves sometimes incite those strikes."

"Yes, depending on the locality and the circumstances."

"There is freedom of press abroad. Freedom of speech and political convictions."

"All these serve the ends of capitalism."

"There are Communists who —"

"Capitalism tolerates them because they still are weak."

"What is the end of all this?"

"The end of what?"

"Of the individual."

"There are no individuals. There are only sides."

"I want to remain an individual."

"You cannot. You can remain an individual only in our jails."

"That is tyranny."

"We don't deny it."

"What then is the difference between you and capitalism?"

"The difference is in the principles."

"Namely?"

"The capitalists tyrannize for the benefit of a few parasites, while we tyrannize for the benefit of the working masses."

"It is the result of the workingmen's misery that I find myself in prison now."

"You should not have got mixed up in it."

"Our village was in the clutches of the famine."

He was thoughtful a moment. "It could happen," he said calmly. "There's nothing

to be surprised at. It seems it was necessary."

"The famine?"

"Yes. With us, everything is planned."

"What about the workers' welfare?"

"Your question again is bourgeois. Man is a means, not the end."

"How long will it be like this?"

"Until the final victory of world revolution."

"When that time comes, can I become an individual?"

"No," he said, rising to his feet.

"Are you going to torture me for insulting the Inspector?"

"No. Not this time," he smiled. "I have tortured you enough by exploding your idols of abroad."

He tapped the bell, signalling my dismissal.

"One question more," I added. "What shall be my fate?"

"Ten years at hard labor. You should have been in a concentration camp. I will arrange for it today."

But my shipment to the concentration camp did not take place so soon.



*If big business, and businessmen, carried on like  
some of our politicians at election time.*

# OF RATS AND MEN

A SATIRE

LEVON MARK NAZLIN

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. As representative of my company, I deem it an honor to be privileged to address you dealers and distributors, and to reveal, here at this convention, the why and the wherefore of the vicious smear campaign being directed at us by our competitors — "The Ketchum Rat Trap Co." I'll endeavor to be brief.

Let me assure you at the outset, my friends, that this brazen attempt to discredit us, is wholly inspired by envy and jealousy — nothing more. Their slanderous abuse began on the very day that we received the coveted N. A. M. award, for producing the most efficient rat trap yet devised — the "Killum."

The recent advertised claims made by their president, that their traps have exterminated more rodents than our own, are utterly false and ridiculous, I'm sure it's unlikely that anyone here believes him, for he's not only reputed to be a notorious liar — but the biggest faker in the business world that ever dipped a pen in ink. It's time he were unmasked.

My fellow business men; those disreputable perverters of the truth, have further charged that the wood used in our traps comes from blighted and diseased forests. May I say that the only disease contained in this allegation is in the mind of their wooden-headed sales manager, Mr. Snare. Listen! It took a strong and lusty rat 57 minutes, by actual test, to gnaw through a

piece of the wood used in our traps, and at the end of that time, its teeth were completely shattered. Now, I have a brother of that rat here — but I'll tell you more about that later in my address.

If rats could only talk, the people would know the truth in short order. All you'd have to do, is select an old and wise rat, and ask him whose trap he'd prefer, the "Ketchum", or the "Killum." We all know that he'd choose their trap, because experience has taught him that his chances of survival are twice as great, than if and where our trap the "Killum," is employed.

We all remember, I am sure, the frightful days of 1948, when the rats throughout the world multiplied with such amazing rapidity, that for a time they challenged the supremacy of the human race. My fellow Americans: let me remind you, that it was during that great "Rodential War VII," when that same man — that boss pedlar, Mr. Snare, who said — and I quote: "The never ceasing war between mankind and the rats might eventually be decided in favor of the rats." End of quote.

How do you like that? Only an exec with a corroded, one cylinder brain, would dare make such a reckless statement. You'd think he was the paid propagandist of the rats. Whose side is he on, anyway? Here is a man who — yak, yak, . . . blah, blah, blah — and yak.

NOTE: To the makers of rat traps, our apologies. No offense intended.

# THE OFFICE-BOY WHO MADE GOOD

## PART II

NUBER KAZANJIAN

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MICHAEL

Well it hadda be invented, didn't it?

LORD

Couldnt get out of inventin it.

GABRIEL

It's servin its purpose, ain't it?

LORD

Yep, it is.

ARIEL

And besides you said they scare each other even worse, didn't you?

LORD

Well, maybe so. But just the same I think its high time I gave my Evolution another whirl. I gotta get things movin a little faster now. No. It don't pay to scare em too much.

ARIEL

Aw, don't feel bad about it, Lord. Don't take it so hard. Betcha I could fix things for you down there.

LORD

You could eh, little sprite?

ARIEL

Sure. Tell you what. You take care of things up here, and I'll take care of things down there. How about it?

LORD

(*Chuckling*) — Just listen to the boy talk.

GABRIEL

Ah, quit it, kid, will you?

ARIEL

I can do it.

MICHAEL

Even if the Lord was to send you, little Ariel, to figure sumthin out, how would you go about it?

ARIEL

Dont you worry, I got my own ideas; especially since I saw what I did on that screen. Let me try Lord. Hm? You gotta give me responsibility sooner or later. Why not make it sooner. I'm all of. . .

GABRIEL

Twelve?

ARIEL

That's right. A good ripe age.

LORD

Mmm.

(*Bells start to ring at a distance*)

GABRIEL

Ohoh, the Meet. Well, so long everybody.

ARIEL

Talk to the Lord for me before you go, Gabe. I can do it. Honest I can.

GABRIEL

Whatta you want me to say, kid. The Lord knows best, don't he?

ARIEL

Well he's always tryin out new ideas with that Evolution of his. So why don't he try me and my ideas for a change. Michael?

MICHAEL

No harm in him tryin, is there, Lord? Seems like he's gettin old enough to swing some weight around here, huh?



ARIEL

Sure. I'm a responsible fella.

GABRIEL

Say, you know, it might not be a bad idea at that gettin him out from under our feet for awhile. Eh, kid?

ARIEL

You betcha, Gabe.

LORD

Serious as all that, eh?

ARIEL

You betcha. I told you: I'm gonna amount to sumthin.

GABRIEL

Well, I gotta go.

LORD

Hold on for just another minute, Gabe.

GABRIEL

What for? They're waitin.

ARIEL

Please, Lord?

LORD

You mean to say you really wanna go and try to set the Earth straight? At 12 years old?

ARIEL

Sure. How about givin an angel a break.

LORD

O. K. son, you're in.

ARIEL

Hooray, I'm in!

LORD

Gabe, you're jumpin over the Milky Way, ain't you?

GABRIEL

That's right.

LORD

(A trifle mischievously) — Well, since I know that you ain't got much competition, and since it's a cinch you're gonna win this Meet too anyhow, how about carryin this here little ambitious tad along with you and showin him the way.

ARIEL

I know the Earth is sx trillion light-years away, Gabe. But I can jump two of those trillion without botherin you.

GABRIEL

O. K., kid.

LORD

Good. And when you're passin over on your broad-jump just drop him gently. His wings'll take him the rest of the way. You can make em sprout out of your shoulder blades at the proper time.

ARIEL

You betcha.

GABRIEL

Well, let's go, then. They're waitin.

LORD

But remember, you're askin for it. You better get some results or else you're gonna stay on that human sphere until I get good and ready to call you back, hear?

ARIEL

I'll do it. You'll see.

GABRIEL

Hey, Lord, just a thought. What's the record for a broad-jump Meet down there on the Earth?

LORD

Let me see. Oh about 26' 8¼" I reckon, Gabe.

GABRIEL

26' 8¼"!

LORD

That's right.

GABRIEL

That's all?

LORD

That's all.

GABRIEL

Against 8 trillion light-years?

LORD

That's it.

(GABRIEL laughs uproariously)

ARIEL

Well, shake a leg, Gabe. You told me. They're waitin'

GABRIEL

Huh?

ARIEL

Let's go!

(And GABRIEL exits after the eager-footed sprite)

LORD

(After him) — Make yourself invisible when you get down there so they don't see you.

ARIEL (*His Voice*)

You betcha.

LORD

(*Chuckling*) — Good boy. I do believe he might do sumthin at that. Course I could find out right now what's he's gonna do just by switchin on my Omniscience; my Know-it-all. But I'd rather wait and be surprised. He's gonna make a good angel some day.

(MICHAEL is looking off Left, Rear)

MICHAEL

They're just about ready to go. . .

(A cannon roars)

. . . And there they go!

LORD

Yep. The first batch.

(The cannon roars again)

MICHAEL

There goes the second batch.

LORD

One, two, three . . . eight batches this year.

(With each cannonade another batch of angels takes off. At the fifth. . .)

MICHAEL

There go Gabe and Ariel now. Beat um, Gabe!

LORD

Watch where you drop him, Gabe!

(Three more roars, then silence)

MICHAEL

Well, that's it. That does it.

LORD

(*Chuckling*) — Guess Gabe'll be gettin some competition after all.

MICHAEL

I should say so. Carryin Ariel most of the way? And he didn't even say nuthin about it, did you notice, Lord?

LORD

I noticed. Gabe gets a little ebullient; a little too hot that is; once in awhile, but he's a good skate.

MICHAEL

And can he blow a trumpet?

LORD

My favorite instrument.

MICHAEL

Shhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh!

LORD

Huh? What're you shushing me for?

MICHAEL

(*Pointing towards the audience*) — They might hear you.

LORD

And so?

MICHAEL

But you're supposed to like the harp best.

LORD

O yeah? Well I just don't care no more what I'm supposed to like and what I'm not supposed to like. By my own name I'm gonna go ahead; I am gonna go ahead and wise em all up a bit about a few things; and that's right now. Michael, tell Satan I wanna see him right away!

(As MICHAEL dials the phone the LORD takes out his box of cigars and takes one)

MICHAEL

This is Michael, the Archangel, and the Lord's secretary. Put Satan on. . . Satan? The Lord wants to talk to you. So get on up here fast as you can, hear?

(Hangs up. The LORD is about to replace his cigars in the drawer from sheer habit when. . .)

LORD

Here. From now on I ain't hidin you, see-gar. I don't care if they do see smokin up here in Heaven. From now on you stay there, on the top, right out in the open. Amen. Well?

MICHAEL

He's comin.

LORD

I know that. But I can't wait that long now. . .

(Performing another miracle)

. . . Be here, right now!

(And SATAN walks right in, from Left. He is an imposing figure; only less so than the LORD. Of course, he too is a Negro, about 40, dressed entirely in black with perhaps a minimum of silver lining)

SATAN

Greetings, Lord, Thanks for the lift.

LORD

Greetings Satan. Don't mention it. See-gar?

SATAN

Don't mind if I do.

MICHAEL

Shall I go?

LORD

Not this time, Michael. You can stay. Here, have another seegar yourself. . .

(The LORD lights theirs and his own)

. . . Sit down, gentlemen. Be seated.

MICHAEL

Speakin about seegars, Lord, the Accounting Department sez you're way over-drawn on em. Passin too many out.

LORD

Well good for the Accounting Department. Let em worry about it. Have another.

MICHAEL

Just this minute "no" ain't in my vocabulary.

LORD

That's good.

MICHAEL

I wanna thank you for lettin me stay, Lord. I always wanted to know what you and Satan always talk about.

SATAN

You want him to know?

LORD

Well it's gotta come out sooner or later, don't it?

SATAN

That won't make me mad. You know, it

is about time I was gettin some credit from somebody else beside only yourself, Lord.

LORD

Anyway, it's not gonna be much more than a rehash of what we were already talkin about before you came, Satan.

SATAN

Oh. Too bad.

MICHAEL

Wait a minute. Did I hear you say that you get credit from the Lord, Satan?

LORD

Now, Michael, you just sit there, listen, and try to get it. O. K.?

MICHAEL

But that's what I'm tryin to do: get it.

LORD

Now Satan I wanna brief you on what's goin on on that little Earth of mine and I'm gonna tell you what I'm gonna do about it.

SATAN

Oh when are we gonna finish with all this masqueradin, Lord? Do you realize how much of an anachronism I am? How much out of Time and Place? How can I possibly be anywhere when you're everywhere?

MICHAEL

Huh?

LORD

Now, Satan, I didn't call you here to talk about that again. All I wanna tell you is. . .

SATAN

But how can there be such a thing as me. I'm a contradiction in terms, and you know it.

MICHAEL

What?

LORD

When the children of men get to realize that, Satan, they will climb to a position higher yet than that of angels.

MICHAEL

What?

But please reconsider my position in the meantime.

MICHAEL

What?

LORD

You know I've already done that. I've considered and reconsidered. And there you are.

MICHAEL

What?

SATAN

Will the Merciful have no mercy?

MICHAEL

What?

LORD

Not now. Later.

MICHAEL

What?!

SATAN

But just think of that awful reputation you're causin me to get among all the peoples of the Earth.

MICHAEL

What?!!!

SATAN

Nobody likes me.

MICHAEL

Well I should say not! Satan, how dare you make remarks like that sayin the good Lord is causin you to get a bad reputation!

LORD

Could be he's right, Michael. Could be my doin.

MICHAEL

What??????

SATAN

Lord, when Michael has finally finished with all his "what's" call me back again. I wanna plead for my release from Hell.

MICHAEL

Wh-a-a-t????????!!!!!!

(Satan, on his way out, stops in his tracks)

SATAN

Oh, for Heaven's sake, Lord, do something!

LORD

(gently) — I asked you just to listen and try to understand, Michael-boy.

MICHAEL

Yeah, but Lord I heard him say it. I distinctly heard him say it. He said that you, the Lord, was causin him to get a bad reputation on the Earth. And then he said he wanted you to release him from Hell.

LORD

If my memory recollects correctly that's what he did say. That's the way I heard it too.

MICHAEL

But isn't he the rebellious Lucifer?

LORD

Oh he's Lucifer alright.

MICHAEL

Well aren't you gonna throw him outa here for talkin to you like that?

LORD

That ain't why I sent for him just to throw him out.

MICHAEL

But you're stickin up for him.

LORD

I'm Lord of all, ain't I?

MICHAEL

But you're blamin yourself too.

LORD

Is there anything that happens anywhere for which I'm not responsible? Directly or indirectly?

MICHAEL

But what's this all about. Lord, you want me to go crazy? ?

LORD

Nossir. I don't want you to go crazy. And besides I won't allow it. Now you just sit there like I told you in the first place and just listen, some more. You'll get the drift of it pretty soon. At least I'm hoping you will.

SATAN

Well, I presume we can continue?

LORD

Now you just wait one, single, solitary minute, Satan. I told you I didn't call you up here to rehash all that old stuff. No wonder Michael's goin crazy tryin to under-

stand it. Now all I want to tell you is this. . .

SATAN

But how can I help myself. Oh how I long for oblivion. Change me into a tree or a stone, and put somebody else down there in that black, black hole of the universe, the Pit, just for a change.

LORD

But that black, black hole of the Universe, the Pit, is your only excuse for bein at all right now.

SATAN

Well whatta you think I'm kickin about. You don't seem to realize how black it is down there without none of your light. Why even your own investigatin Committee is complainin about it. They can't see their way around. Lord, you just don't appreciate what two billion years of Darkness can do to a fella like me. I'm in torment; and that's a fact.

LORD

At the end of Time all things'll be straightened out, Satan. Have patience.

SATAN

Yeah but this sure is a run. Two billion years straight as the Prince of Darkness. Get somebody else for the role, Lord.

MICHAEL

*(Crushing his cigar)* — A run! A role! Why you old devil you, you got no respect left for the Lord at all, sayin things like that. Lord, lemme wring his dirty neck!

SATAN

*(Laying down his cigar)* — Is that you talkin again, Archangel? Lord, let me finally try and give him some of your understandin!

LORD

Looks like human beins ain't the only ones can't hold their tongues awhile and just listen.

MICHAEL

But Lord!

LORD

Alright, Satan, break it to him gently.

SATAN

Thank you, Lord. Michael!

MICHAEL

Yeah!

SATAN

Apply the mind the good Lord gave you and see if even you can't put two and two together. You ready?

MICHAEL

I'm ready!

SATAN

Why do you think the Lord asked you to stay and listen to us today, for the very first time? Why do you think he asked you to try and get it?

MICHAEL

You're the one who's supposed to give me understandin.

SATAN

If you came and stayed with me in the Pit for awhile you'd get some understandin, and fast. There's lots of things I can see down there that you can't see up here.

MICHAEL

That all you gotta tell me?

SATAN

No, it ain't. Now, We kept this to ourselves so far, the Lord and me. Now, with his permission, I'm gonna tell it to you. It's like this. This here Heaven is light, see? But the light of Heaven is too blindin bright for men to appreciate. So to prevent them from goin blind the Lord hadda invent Darkness. And he stuck it in Hell.

MICHAEL

So?

SATAN

So men gotta have Light. And they gotta have Darkness.

MICHAEL

Seems to me like he's never gonna get on with it, Lord.

LORD

*(With a reproving glance at MICHAEL)*  
— Wind it up, Satan.

SATAN

O.K., then. Get this. The Light and the



Darkness they got together and guess what came out? The three primary colors. Then the three primary colors got together and all the colors of the rainbow were born. Now here's the thing. When men get to see that the Darkness was deliberately put up against the Light so all the colors in this whole, wide, and beautiful world could be born; when they realize that the good Lord did this just so they could see straight without goin blind; when they get to appreciate that they got no cause, no cause at all, of bein scared of the Darkness, then's the time they're gonna reach to a high point of understandin.

MICHAEL

Oh yeah?

SATAN

Yeah; And when they get to understand that much, the eyes of men'll then become strong enough to gaze upon this pure, white, light of Heaven without the need of mixin it anymore with Darkness.

MICHAEL

*(Still aggressive and unbelieving)* — You all through?!

SATAN

I am!

MICHAEL

Satan, you tryin to stand there and tell me that you are servin the Lord's deliberate purpose?

SATAN

Michael, I ain't tryin to stand here and tell you. I am standin here and I just told you.

MICHAEL

You mean to say that the Lord deliberately invented the Darkness to mix it with the Light just so people'd see straight in colors?

SATAN

That's it.

MICHAEL

Why I don't believe a word of it. You, the Prince of Darkness were knocked out of

Heaven for rebellin against the Lord. Everybody knows that.

SATAN

Don't you see? You gotta do things so people will understand. The Lord and me we put on that show cause we figured that was the only way folks'd get to understand about the Light and the Darkness.

MICHAEL

Then how come folks associate everything bad with the Darkness?

SATAN

The Light is warm. The Dark is cold. And besides they can't see too good at night. That's why. That's what I meant before when, havin been made the Prince of Darkness, I said the Lord was causin me to get a bad reputation.

MICHAEL

I don't believe a single word of it. Not one word!

SATAN

You ain't heard the Lord call me a liar, have you?

MICHAEL

No, but I'm callin you *one*.

SATAN

Is the Lord truthful?

MICHAEL

Why you blasphemmin fiend you. Course he's truthfull!

SATAN

Well, why not just ask him then, you angelic creature you.

MICHAEL

I will! Lord?

LORD

Michael, Michael, Michael. I'm afraid it's all my fault. I always was afraid you wouldn't get it. That's why I never let you in on a confab between Satan and me before.

MICHAEL

You mean what he's sayin is true? He's really servin as the Prince of Darkness cause you told him to, and not cause he's sinful?

SATAN

Does the Lord know everything?

MICHAEL

Course the Lord knows everything. So?

SATAN

So this: Since the Lord knows everything he would've known I was gonna sin, if that's what I did, even before I was created. So why did he allow it? If that's what he did. And there sure was no temptation before me, since that's what you call it, cause I was the very first devil, wasn't I?

MICHAEL

You still are.

SATAN

No need to remind me, boy. I know.

LORD

Don't you get it yet, Michael? I'm Love. I'm Mercy. I'm Goodness. I can't invent no Hell where folks'd burn and suffer for all eternity. I couldn't stand it. My priests and ministers thunk that one up; not me. At the end of Time everything is comin right back to me. Everything.

MICHAEL

Includin Satan here?

LORD

He was Lucifer, the bearer of all my Light before. And after he's finished with his job of helpin folks to see straight, like you said, in colors, he's gonna rank even higher when all of Time is ended and Eternity resumes its course. That is, if I can invent a rank even higher.

SATAN

*(Picking up his cigar)* — That's the part I can't take; waitin til then. How about tradin with me, Lord. The smallest part of Heaven now and I agree to sacrifice my prime position in Heaven later on. How about that?

LORD

And wouldn't you be sorry later on if I took you up on that now.

MICHAEL

Lord, I'm confused. I can't see straight no

more, in black and white or in colors. Help me.

LORD

Now don't get too worried about it right off, Michael. Besides you know its always darker right before the light shines. Course I'll help you. Now think. Why did I send for Satan here? What were me and you and Gabe and little Ariel discussin just before I told you to call him up?

MICHAEL

*(Remembering)* — Hell!

SATAN

Now, now, Michael, no need in cussin. . .

MICHAEL

We were talkin about how people were so scared they couldn't think things straight, or do things straight. And one of the reasons was their fear of Hell.

SATAN

Oh.

MICHAEL

Then we figured that we hadda make those folks quit from bein so scared. So, you sent Ariel down to Earth to think up sumthin. And then he sent for you. Why I see it all now, Lord. You're just gonna tell em the truth about what the Darkness, really is, and Satan; just like Satan told me. Then they'd have no more eternal fires, and punishments to worry about.

LORD

That'd only be eventually, Michael; eventually. Not now. Can't give the people more than they can chew on, can you? Just a little more light at a time until they finally get there.

MICHAEL

I see. Then you sent for Satan here to tell him you're now gonna throw some more of your Light on that Darkness of his so folks'd get to see things a little better. Right?

LORD

Well, that's exactly what I was gonna say in the very first place if I just hadn't been so interrupted. So interrupted!

SATAN

Couldn't help myself, Lord. Couldn't help it.

LORD

They need the light. They want it. So they're gonna get some more of it. Couldn't give it to em though unless they wanted it. And besides makin it more light all around might help my own Investigatin Committee down in the Pit. Who knows? Even they might get to see a few things.

MICHAEL

You're tacklin the job from up here. And Ariel is tacklin it from down there. A two-way squeeze on old man Fear.

LORD

Well, praise my name, the boy's finally got it.

MICHAEL

Well I was mad cause I thought Satan was insultin you.

LORD

I saw you steamin.

MICHAEL

That's why I didn't get it sooner.

LORD

O.K., boy. Course the practical part of organizin the squeeze play is all up to Ariel. And as far as human beins are concerned that's the more important part. I hope he's makin out alright.

MICHAEL

Yeah. You never really wanted to scare em, did you.

LORD

Well, now, that is a pretty strong statement, cause they gotta have a little bit of fear, cause it does go a long way helpin people to stay lawful and good. But its gotta be just so much and no more. Nossir. I never wanted to scare em this bad. Not me. Why I couldn't be God if I didn't love my children and make em all feel safe.

SATAN

You know, Lord, seems to me when a thing like scarin don't work out for so long the folks down there'd try sumthin else;

some other way.

LORD

Yeah.

MICHAEL

But why did you keep all this a secret, Lord? Why didn't you tell us angels all about this before? Why, at least, didn't you tell me?

LORD

Everything has got its time and its place. This, here, was the time and the place to tell you; so now you know. And we'll tell the others too soon as we get a chance. My enlightenment is kinda slow but it'll get around sooner or later.

MICHAEL

(Pickin up his cigar now also) — I see.

SATAN

Well, guess you might as well throw it, Lord.

LORD

This always gives me great pleasure. O.K. Keep still. . .

(The LORD concentrates. He's far away) . . . Einstein? . . . Got it, boy? . . . Good! (Back to reality)

There you are, boys. Besides his theory of relativity, pretty, pretty soon that Professor Einstein, at Princeton U., is gonna announce a brand new and far-reachin discovery. That'll throw some light at em. And how. And that's that.

(They're all smoking again now.)

MICHAEL

Guess you'll outrank me again, eh Satan?

SATAN

Guess I'll never stop from bein first, Michael. I was first in this Heaven before; first among all the angels. And now I'm still first; first in Hell.

MICHAEL

The greater the sacrifice . . . Boy, I sure can't figure out how you can stand it bein away from the Light for so long.

SATAN

I can't figure it either. You heard me pleadin with the Lord, didn'tcha? Anyhow,

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it's not as black down there as it used to be. Course it all depends on human beins. The sooner they get themselves ready to look upon this pure white light of Heaven the sooner I get freed from that Darkness. There won't be any need for it then.

MICHAEL

Yeah.

SATAN

If they'd only stop bein so scared of me personally. What'd I do to them anyway? Well, anyhow, now you see the picture from my side too. I'm just an old Debbil with a mission. I've been chosen, God help me (And he won't). So I guess I'll just have to go back and fulfill my Destiny whether I like it or not. Well, nuthin more to say, I reckon. Well, so long, Lord. See you, Michael.

MICHAEL

No hard feelings, Satan?

SATAN

None, boy, none.

LORD

Be of good cheer, Satan.

*(SATAN just makes a hopeless, helpless gesture as though to say: How can I be?, and he exits, Left, head down, reflectively chewing on the remnant of his cigar)*

MICHAEL

Poor fella. Reckon I'll ever get as smart as him, Lord?

LORD

And whatta you think I made you my secretary for? You're gettin more and more understandin every day. Here, boy, take a letter. To the School of Secretarial Studies: Gentlemen: Your teaching excellent cause it produced one Michael, the Achangel. Congratulations. Signed: the Lord.

MICHAEL

Thanks, Lord.

LORD

Don't mention it.

*(They both put out their cigars now as GABRIEL re-enters, downcast and glum. After the event he's got his sweat-shirt on)*

MICHAEL

Well if it ain't the jumpin athlete. How's Space these days, Gabe?

LORD

Looks like you didn't make out so good.

MICHAEL

What!

LORD

Now you watch that, Michael.

MICHAEL

Oh, yeah. You mean you lost?

GABRIEL

Yeah.

LORD

That's too bad, Gabe.

GABRIEL

Yeah.

MICHAEL

Well no wonder. You hadda carry Ariel most of the way, didn't you?

GABRIEL

Yeah.

LORD

You got a right to complain about that, you know.

GABRIEL

Yeah.

LORD

Well?

GABRIEL

No complaints, Lord, I'll beat em the next time.

MICHAEL

No question about that. You sure will, Gabe.

LORD

*(Gleeful)* — Did I know my business, or didn't I, when I made him into an Archangel too?

MICHAEL

You knew your business.

GABRIEL

*(Diffident)* — Ah, quit it, will you.

LORD

By the way, how'd Ariel make out?

GABRIEL

Pin-point landing. Dropped him right on

the target even in the middle of my jump.

MICHAEL

I wonder how he's makin out with his practical end of this job.

LORD

Well, let's see. Just about 15 Earth-years have passed since he landed there half-hour ago. He should've got some results. . .

VOICE

(On the inter-com) — Lord? You there, Lord?

LORD

I'm here, Zeke. What's up?

VOICE

Just the Earth callin. You wanna take it?

LORD

Sure.

VOICE

O. K. I'll connect you.

LORD

(On the telephone) — This is the Lord speakin. That you, Ariel-boy? We were just talkin about you wonderin how you were makin out. . . You're all ready to show us, huh. Good boy. . . No, no. I didn't switch on my Omniscience; my Know-it-all. So even I don't know what you've been up to. I wanna be surprised. . . That so? Bet the boys don't recognize him too. . . Alright, Ariel, see you on the screen then. . . Zeke?

VOICE

Your servant, Lord.

LORD

Connect my T.V. again. Channel Earth.

VOICE

Prontol

(As soon as they've heard the LORD allude to it, MICHAEL and GABRIEL quickly lower the screen, push the seats around, and get ready to put out the lights)

GABRIEL

(In transit) — What did you mean you bet the boys don't recognize him too?

MICHAEL

Recognize who?

LORD

One of these days I'm gonna banish im-

patience from my universe for one, single, solitary day. I guess you'll just have to wait and see. Lights.

(Lights out. The LORD, MICHAEL and GABRIEL are seated as before. A moment of darkness, then the lights light up the scrim area of Earth. It's exactly the same tableau as before. First, the FARMER, the CARPENTER, the SCIENTIST, and the POET. Then the COMMUNIST, the CAPITALIST, the FASCIST, the ARAB, the PRIEST and the MINISTER. Only the little BOY is missing; and of course those portions of the scene that relate to him. They go through the very same motions and speeches they went through before except that while the first group of four will be heard the second group of six act pantomimically; in silence.

After this second group has begun to roll forth its silent thunder, the dim light shines outlining again those in the office)

GABRIEL

But this ain't no different from what we saw before.

MICHAEL

And where's the boy; the one who was runnin around?

GABRIEL

And where's Ariel. The kid isn't kiddin us, is he?

MICHAEL

Here he comes now.

(ARIEL walks on briskly, importantly, and goes right up to the scrim and peers through)

ARIEL

Hi everybody. Enjoyin the show?

GABRIEL

So where's the surprise, kid?

MICHAEL

Nuthin new here, Ariel.

LORD

You make yourself invisible like I told you?

ARIEL

I still am. They can't see me.



LORD  
Well?

ARIEL  
Aw, can't I keep you in suspense for just a little while?

LORD  
Get on with it, boy.

ARIEL  
Well O. K., Well, there was nuthin to it, really. Lord if all your problems are as simple as this one is to solve I can see I got a bright future ahead of me in your hierarchy.

LORD  
(Chuckling) — Think so, eh?  
GABRIEL

Listen, kid, just in case you didn't know it, seems to me like you're takin over the swelled head I'm leavin behind.

ARIEL  
No swellin to it, Gabe. Just watch.  
(ARIEL now makes a motion and the men, immediately interrupting further pantomime, cower low and affrighted. Behind them now is discovered a white, full-grown young man of 23. He's dressed informally, and in a leather jacket. He stands on the box to lend emphasis to his person and to his views)

YOUNG MAN  
Oh yeah? Well I'm goddam sick and tired of all your crap; and so are my buddies and my pals. You either don't know what in Hell you're talkin about; or else you're doing it on purpose. I've grown big enough now to have a say about running this world and I'm finally gonna get in more than one word edgewise. So just for one little minute keep you goddam traps shut!

ARIEL  
(Interspersing quickly) — I apologize for his language, Lord; but he's young and he means well.

YOUNG MAN  
To Hell with just talkin about things like Justice because you're never gonna get it that way. Me, my buddies, and my pals and

all our families, we're doin it. We don't talk no more about it. We go out and practice Justice everyday, everyplace, a hundred times a day, in every little thing that makes up the day. You take care of the little justices like that and believe you me the big justices will take care of themselves; or almost. We're all children of the very same God; everyone of us. So we, in my group and community, we just go right ahead and think of the other guy first regardless. And we've found it to be a fact that the other guy will think of you too; after the first couple of times, that is. Can't you see that we just gotta love one another like brothers and sisters? Naturally, in some cases, more than that. But anyhow these things we actually practice. And I'm here to tell you that they work!

GABRIEL  
Actually practicin it.  
MICHAEL

Even one group and community is sumthin.

ARIEL  
You alistenin, Lord?  
LORD

Got my ears wide open as I can get em, Ariel.

YOUNG MAN  
In my group and community we believe in Liberty. On the other hand we don't see much sense in preachin it to minds that are ignorant, souls that are starved, bellies that are hungry, and to people who are scared. So first off we fill their bellies, educate their minds, put hope into their souls, and teach them to trust one another. When we get that far we find it to be a fact that we don't have to talk none about Liberty; not at all. Because by that time they've already found out what liberty means, and what it means to be without it. So stop talkin so goddam much and do, do, do these things instead. Why we treat even our bums, and I gotta confess we still got a few, with dignity, respect, and consideration!

GABRIEL

Don't he just sound like a preacher though?

MICHAEL

More than that. He means what he says.

ARIEL

You alistenin, Lord?

LORD

Course I'm listenin. But I don't believe it. I don't believe it.

YOUNG MAN

And don't you go away thinkin that all we do is work and work. To Hell with that. We got our wines, our women, and our songs too. You can believe me!

LORD

(Mocking, reproving) — Ohoh. I'm alistenin, Ariel.

ARIEL

(Wryly, glumly) — Yessir, Lord.

YOUNG MAN

This is what we say: The wealth of all the nation belongs to all the people of that nation; not to the few but to the many. The appeal to selfishness can no longer be sustained. And I'm tellin you, fellas, if the big religions were really on the ball and thinkin about the people instead of themselves, catering to the big shots all the time, all the wars that have ever happened in all the History books of the world would never have had a chance to happen. Now whatta you think of that!

GABRIEL

Where did Ariel pick him up anyway?

MICHAEL

He must be one of those 4% geniuses we were talkin about before, remember?

ARIEL

He's back on the ball now, eh Lord?

LORD

Shhhh.

YOUNG MAN

Do good. Practice real democracy. And to Hell with these guys: Communism, Capitalism, Fascism, and all the rest. Me, my

buddies, and my pals, and all our families we practice what we preach!

(But by now ARIEL's charm has apparently run its course. The others recover their erect positions)

ARIEL

Guess my charm is workin off. Can't hold em down any longer, Lord.

LORD

That's alright, Ariel. Guess we heard enough for one day. . .

(The men look disturbedly around to see what, if anything, happened to them. In the process they see each other again and resume their attacks and denunciations; only, this time, vocally and quite forcefully. The YOUNG MAN is shouted at but he's seen shouting right back at them. A couple of them take round-house swings at him but he ducks and avoids them and goes right on talking back. After awhile, though, he descends from his perch, takes it with him and retires to one side, sadly, reflectively. ARIEL, having indicated his helplessness to do anything more about the situation, for the present anyway, now goes, climbs the box himself, and puts his arm around the YOUNG MAN in liking and admiration.

The light in the office intensifies a little more and the LORD is seen trying to make himself heard. He doesn't succeed over the din, so he shouts. . .)

. . . Quiet! . . .

(There's quiet; but the men continue their quarrel, as before, pantomimically until the very end, alternately resting then resuming their pantomime)

. . . There. Keep your old traps shut so I hear them!

ARIEL

What was that?! — (He jumps down from the box) —

MICHAEL

Lord!

GABRIEL

Was that you?

LORD

That was me. That Young fella is right. About all they do is talk too much, and a sight too loud. Nobody can hear himself with them around. And to think it was me who created them. They'd get anybody mad; and that's includin me!

*(The YOUNG MAN now sits, surveys the situation again and shakes his head disapprovingly)*

GABRIEL

Lord?

LORD

Yeah?

GABRIEL

The young fella's alright. But your boys Jesus, the Mahatma, and all the rest, they practiced what they preached too, didn't they?

LORD

Nobody can deny that.

GABRIEL

So what's so different here. Where's the surprise?

LORD

Well, don't you see? This here young fella and his buddies, and his pals, and all their families, they're the ones my boys were preachin and practicin at. So it just looks like their preachin and practicin finally took root. Isn't that surprise enough?

GABRIEL

Yeah. That's right. Sure is.

ARIEL

So what's the verdict, Lord?

LORD

Well, I told you I didn't believe it, Ariel.

ARIEL

But you just said. . .

LORD

Give me time, boy; give me time. After all boys did preach and practice for so long and I already have been disappointed so often. But I did hear the young fella alright; plain as day. So I'll thank the good Lord, and that's me, just the same.

GABRIEL

*(Suddenly)* — Hey, Ariel!

ARIEL

Yeah, Gabe?

GABRIEL

Isn't that the little kid who was runnin around here before yellin "Socialism"?

MICHAEL

Now that you mention it, Gabe, that's him alright, only fifteen years older. Right Ariel?

LORD

Looks like they recognized him after all, Ariel-boy.

ARIEL

Aw, some of these grown-ups are gettin a little too smart if you ask me.

GABRIEL

Oh yeah? Well, come on, Smarty, and tell us how you did it.

LORD

That's right. Let's have the facts.

ARIEL

Well, after I landed here I found out right away that the folks here knew all about the way your boys wanted them to live. The only trouble was they didn't wanna live that way; or, they weren't let. Then I paid a visit to the Mahatma's country, over India way, and sure enough he set me a good example. That Mahatma of yours, Lord, he sure was some practical fella. And did he have a sense of humor? I read all about it. While he was still on this Earth, he got himself liked, went into politics, and he made all those people love each other whether they were let or not; whether they wanted to or not. So I figured it this way. If he could do it I could do it. Then I remembered this fella here who we all saw on T.V. 15 years ago and you coulda knocked me over with a breeze when I found out that besides havin a sense of humor too, him, his buddies, and his pals, and all their families were takin Jesus seriously. Well after that it really was a breeze. All I hadda do then was to feed em all on extra special

vitamin tablets and they all grew up faster and bigger. Then I got em to unite themselves and go into politics; just like the Mahatma did. And there you are. That's all there's to it, Him, and folks like him, they all do everything for one another, and that way they got a better purpose in livin. And they get more fun outa life too. These others they can still lick him if they ganged up on him. But they can't shove him around any-more like they used to.

GABRIEL

Is that the "Socialism" he was always yellin about, kid?

ARIEL

That's it. It's religion in action.

GABRIEL

What's that?

ARIEL

That's what they call it, Gabe. Hey, Lord, how about me stayin here a spell longer and lookin after em some more, huh?

LORD

They might need some more of them extra vitamin tablets?

ARIEL

Might. Besides I'm gettin a real kick outa this job.

LORD

Religion in action, huh. I like that. Yeah. O.K. Ariel you stay put then since you want to and keep a good eye on em.

ARIEL

Hooray!

LORD

But you better tell em to stay united; not to splinter off. Or else, vitamins or not, they'll be goin nowhere pretty fast.

ARIEL

I'll tell em, Lord.

LORD

Good work, Boy. I cut down on some of Satan's Darkness, and you've made a fine start of organizin the practical side of puttin things into action. And if this keeps up, and that religion of theirs keeps spreading why I'll be able to send down more and more

of my Light, faster and faster. And then, who knows, they'll start junkin their fears by the barrel-load; tossin em out of the window by the dozen. I repeat boy: good work. Looks like you weren't talkin through your hat when you said you'd make your way up in my hierarchy.

ARIEL

The office-boy who made good, eh Lord?

LORD

Well, hmm. The job isn't finished yet, you know. Hardly. Huh, just look at em; still at it. . .

*(The YOUNG MAN rises now and exits, Rear)*

. . . And I don't blame him. We better start partin company too. But before we do I just gotta give you a seegar for what you did already, Ariel. So you come on up to Heaven right away, for just one minute anyway, and I'll give you one. Now come on.

ARIEL

Ain't I kinda young for seegars, Lord?

LORD

When a boy does a man's job he deserves a man's reward.

ARIEL

Oh boy, I'm gonna get my first seegar!

LORD

Course you ain't actually gonna smoke it yet. I just wanna see how it'll look in your mouth.

ARIEL

Aw, Lord!

LORD

Now don't argue with me, boy, cause I'm the Lord and you know it. Now if you don't get a move on and hurry up I'll just give you a lift myself.

ARIEL

Aww. . .

*(But suddenly a bright thought occurs to him)*

. . . You'll give me a lift if I don't hurry?

LORD

I sure will.

ARIEL

A real fast one?

LORD

Instantaneous.

ARIEL

(*Rubbing his hands gleefully*) — Oh boy, I'll be up then, See you all later.

MICHAEL

O. K., Zeke. Cut it!

VOICE

Ditto.

LORD

And that's that; for a beginning.

(*All lights black out, then GABRIEL at the switch makes Heaven glow once again. And as MICHAEL raises the scrim he replaces the chairs. The LORD does appear quite delighted with the transpired event*)

LORD

(*Chuckling*) — Hee, hee. Ain't I glad I didn't switch on my Omniscience and didn't find out about this result beforehand? It was better this way; bein surprised. Now we're startin to get somewhere with human beins.

MICHAEL

Looks like they're startin to get somewhere themselves. They started it. Ariel just helped out makin em grow and organizin em.

LORD

Well who gave em the brains to start a thing like that with?

MICHAEL

You did.

LORD

And who found em and helped em when they needed help?

MICHAEL

Ariel did.

LORD

And whose angel is Ariel anyway? And you and you for that matter?

MICHAEL

Looks like you want some of the credit for a good thing, Lord.

LORD

There's too many of my children down there don't see Good enough and Light enough even though they're there right smack in front of their eyes. They can't see em if they're not let to see em, can they? So they don't give me credit for much let me tell you. So might as well grab all I can while I can. . . Well where is the boy. what's keepin him. Looks like the little rascal is waitin for that free ride I promised him. That'll bring him up here instantaneous. Alright. You, Ariel, be up here, right now!

(*And ARIEL flies in from Left as though catapulted by a great speed*)

ARIEL

Whew! That's some speed. I didn't see nobody and nobody saw me, comin in. Oh! I dropped sumthin. It's right out there. I'll be right back!

LORD

Come here, boy.

ARIEL

But you brought me up so fast I dropped the package I brought with me right in there.

LORD

Now stop talkin boy. When will you stop talkin?

ARIEL

But. . .

LORD

I declare you're turnin into a regular gabber just like all them Earthlings. Now come on over here, boy, like I say, and sit in my chair.

ARIEL

(*Overcome*) — In your chair, Lord? Your chair?

LORD

That's what I said. Now, sit down.

ARIEL

Gosh. Gosh!

LORD

Now turn around this way. I got sumthin



special cooked up for you, son, deluxe; just for you.

ARIEL

What is it. What is it?

LORD

Aye. Those two stars will do.

ARIEL

(*Excitedly*) — Fireworks! Fireworks, fellows! Fireworks!

LORD

(*To the two stars*) — Pass one another; but close!

ARIEL

There they go! There they go! . . .

(*And, suddenly, the entire stage, Rear, is dotted and streaked with fireworks*)

. . . Wow! . . . Wow! . . . Lord?

LORD

Yeah, boy?

ARIEL

Give me fireworks like this every time and you can send me on all the missions you want.

LORD

Agreed, boy, agreed. . . Had enough?

ARIEL

Well, course I'd like to watch some more. But now I got responsibility, you know. I think I better start thinkin about gettin back to he Earth.

(*The LORD and the Archangels exchange glances. ARIEL has just risen to adulthood and maturity*)

LORD

Then cease and desist. Go on back to your orbits. You heard him. The boy's got responsibility now! Boys, pour out the Ambrosia; four glasses.

(*MICHAEL and GABRIEL do*)

ARIEL

Gosh, for me too?

LORD

Well you ain't actually gonna drink it. I just wanna see how it'll look in front of you.

ARIEL

Aw, Lord!

LORD

Have patience, boy. You're time'll come. How does it feel bein waited on by the Lord, himself, and two Archangels, eh?

ARIEL

Aw, I dunno.

LORD

(*Raising his glass*) — Gentlemen I propose a toast. First to our own little Ariel for havin started a first-rate job of organizin the Earth. . . Then to that young fella, his buddies, his pals, and all their families who finally, at long last, are puttin some religion into action. . .

(*They sip twice. ARIEL's stays in front of him*)

GABRIEL

Guess that'll help keep sour notes outa your Celestial Symphony; or maybe make em sound right somehow.

LORD

Now open your mouth, boy.

(*And he sticks a cigar into it*)

ARIEL

(*Removing it for a moment*) — Well, how do I look? . . . Lord, why do you do these things to me? . . .

(*The LORD's got an arm around him and is looking down at him pretty proudly and reassuringly when. . .*)

. . . Hey, my package! Help me bring it in, will you, fellas? It's a surprise, another one for all of you. Have patience. Follow me.

(*He lays his cigar down and the three of them exit, Left, then return almost immediately. They carry in a rolled rug.*)

LORD

Well bless my soul if it ain't a rug from the Earth. That's very thoughtful of you, boy. I do appreciate it.

ARIEL

You still got your Omniscience turned off, Lord? Your Know-it-all?

LORD

I have.

ARIEL

Good. Well, you just better remember to appreciate it in another minute. Roll her open fellas!

*(They do, and out pops a splendid specimen of femininity; young, beautiful, extremely alluring, and all of 18. She's a Hawaiian dancing girl. A general gasp. Then. . .)*

GABRIEL

*(The first to recover)* — Why it's, it's, it's a girl! A girl, a girl, a girl!

MICHAEL

A member of the opposing gender!

ARIEL

*(Unable to suppress his excitement and exultation any longer)* — I did it! I did it! I did it! Remember your appreciation now, Lord; and your promise. I sneaked her right in!

GABRIEL

A dancing girl!

ARIEL

I was just passing Hawaii on my way back. . .

GABRIEL

A Hawaiian dancing girl!

MICHAEL

What lines! What shape! What symmetry!

GABRIEL

What was that you were telling me about the Lord promisin us wimmen, kid?

ARIEL

The Lord said even if only one of us snuck in a female without him knowin about it we'd all be welcome to em. Didn't you, Lord?

GABRIEL

He did, huh? Yippee!

MICHAEL

I second the motion. Yippee!

GABRIEL

Limbo there you go!

MICHAEL

There won't be no wimmen left there by tomorrow!

ARIEL

We can keep em now!

GABRIEL

Not you, kid. You're still too young.

ARIEL

Even though I did a man's job down there and bringin her up here?

GABRIEL

That's right. Besides, she looks my type; more like my type.

ARIEL

Aww, wine wimmen, and seegars; all I can do is look on em.

GABRIEL

Like the Lord said, time'll come soon enough.

MICHAEL

*(Who's been gazing quite avidly)* — I'd almost forgotten what they looked like.

GABRIEL

Yeah. Me too.

*(The sinuous morsel before them is not only dancing; she's a natural-born coquette as well who's certainly not averse to showing off her charms. The sounds of a guitar might be heard offstage. The LORD still stands, a little dumb-founded)*

ARIEL

If you're gonna be champ of the broad-jump again, Gabe, looks like seegars and Ambrosia ain't the only things you'll have to stay away from now.

GABRIEL

You don't have to remind me so soon, kid. The next Meet ain't til next year.

LORD

*(Snapping out of it)* — Oh my achin back! Don't tell me I gotta go through that again!

ARIEL

It was your own doin, Lord.

LORD

My doin!?

ARIEL

Sure. You said you'd give me a fast lift; instantaneous; if I didn't hurry. So I didn't. Then when your lift came it whizzed me,

and my, er, rug, right past your Customs Inspectors so fast they probably don't even know I'm back yet.

LORD

The lift! Yeah. That was my doin alright. *(He groans. The Celestial Symphony begins to play. The young lady is, naturally, occupying Center-stage with the boys grouped around her, all chuckling delightedly and wearing silly smiles. ARIEL retrieves his cigar, sticks it back in his mouth and looking, for all the world, every inch the man)*

MICHAEL

Think we better watch out for our jobs, Gabe?

GABRIEL

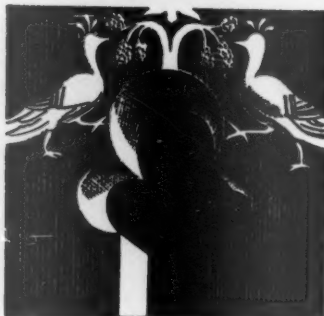
Never can tell with these smart and ambitious lads about. Michael.

ARIEL

Aw, shucks, fellas, you don't have to worry about me. I ain't human.

LORD

Well for the love of me, wimmen! Again! *(And the Symphony stops with the fall of the Curtain)*



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CLASSIC BOOKS IN SERIAL FORM

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# GEVORG MARZPETOUNI

*A Historical Novel*

By MOURATZAN

(CONCLUSION)

Translated from the Armenian

## THE STORY THUS FAR

The time is the first quarter of the 10th century when Armenia is in conflict with the Arab invader. Ashot the Iron, the Armenian King, has alienated two of his most powerful princes, Prince Sevada, the father of Queen Sahakanoush, and Prince Tzlik Amram, the Governor of Outik. The cause of the rift is Princess Aspram, the wife of Tzlik Amram, an old flame of the King with whom he is hopelessly in love. To add to the King's troubles, his princes have deserted him, seeking shelter in the security of their castles, while the country is open to the ravages of the invading Arab army. Prince Gevorg Marzpetouni, a veteran soldier and a devoted patriot, takes it upon himself to reconcile the princes with the King with a view to present a common front to the enemy and, thus, to save the country, but all his efforts prove in vain. The King has retired to the monastery on a little island on Lake Sevan. At this time the King's only two friends are the Queen and Prince Marzpetouni. In his desperation, Prince Marzpetouni decides to take the field against the Arab with only twenty of his valiant and loyal followers, and to this end he proceeds to Sevan where he obtains the King's benediction in his hazardous venture. The prince's force soon falls on an Arab force encamped before the Fortress of Kel and puts the enemy to flight. Led by the King himself, an Armenian force subsequently defeats the Arabs again at Sevan. But the King is wounded. The King's force goes on to the ancient city of Bakaran where Marzpetouni conceives a bold idea to rid all of Armenia of the Arab invaders. The plan, however, is revealed unwittingly by the Catholicos. The king is visited by his brother Abbas at the royal sanctuary at Sevan, and Abbas and Marzpetouni prevail on the ailing monarch to return to his capital of Yerazgavors. Catholicos Hovhannes passes away, and Marzpetouni visits King Gagik, cementing relations between the two Armenian Kings. Ashod finally dies of his wounds, and Catholicos Theodorus crowns Abbas and Lady Gourgendoukht King and Queen of Armenia. Prince Marzpetouni is appointed Commander-in-chief of Abbas' military forces. After a furious assault, the great city of Dovin falls to the Armenians. The novel is brought to an end with this installment.

### CHAPTER VIII Fifteen Years Later

Fifteen long years had passed after the capture of Dovin, a reign of peace for King Abbas. The people of Armenia had forgotten enemy attacks, the pillage and similar terrors. The peasant plowed his field and sowed the seed unmolested, the tiller of the vineyard pruned his vines, and the gardener attended his trees without any fear of a sudden marauder who could ruin the product of his toil. Thus, the barren fields, the ruined vineyards, and the trampled gardens were rebuilt once again, flourished anew and were filled with the bounties of nature. The Horn of Plenty spread its generous gifts all around. And since the peace of the land was undisturbed for a long time, not only the distant refugees returned to their homes but companies of peaceful people from other lands migrated to the land of Armenia increasing the population of the villages, lending impetus to the prosperity of the cities, and reviving the trades and the commerce of the land.

And since learning and the growth of the arts depended on the peace, the monasteries of Armenia which had been deserted and many of them had been ruined during the war years launched on a new era of reform and prosperity. Steadily the abbots and the monks who had run away returned to their former shrines, renovated the delapidated buildings, rebuilt the ruined ones, rallied new inmates and with diligent toil revived the interrupted art of learning. And since the monasteries of Armenia, ever since the days of Nerses the Great and St. Sahak, aside from the avocation of teaching, also were ordained to take care of the sick and the needy and to offer asylum to the persecuted, accordingly, in many of these monasteries there were founded adjunct institutions, such as orphanages, hospitals, travelers inns and asylums.

All these public institutions were subsi-

dized by King Abbas himself, some by direct grants from his treasury, others being endowed with revenue-bearing estates, and still others through other sources of income.

Thus, during the reign of King Abbas, not only the old monasteries were renovated but a considerable number of new ones were erected, foremost among which were the Monastery of Kamurdjadzor in the Province of the Arsharounis, the Monastery of Kapoutakar of the same province, famous for its progressive monks, the Monastery of Romos of Shirak, famous for its travelers inn, the Dubrevank (School-Monastery) of the same province, noted as a center of education, the Monastery of Khladzor, Movsisavank (Monastery of Moses) of Kharpert, the Monastery of Huntzoutz of Karin, the Monastery of Tzakhyatz, the latter three noted for their constructive monastic orders, and lastly, the Monastery of Narek in the Province of the Rushtunis which gave to the Armenian nation such noted Doctors of poetry and philosophy as Anania Narekatzi, the conqueror of Tondragetzi, Grigor Narekatzi, the Divine Singer whose hymns and prayers have been on the lips of the Armenians for centuries.

Meanwhile, the peaceful years did not prevent the King from attending to the protection of the land. Knowing that his country was surrounded by uncivilized and barbarians neighbors who might attack him once they realized he was unprotected, simultaneous with the rehabilitation of the land, he paid equal attention to the fortifications of his frontiers. Realizing Yerazgavor was unsuited for a successful defence as a capital, and Dovin, situated in the open plain, equally indefensible, he looked around for a suitable site of his capital.

After consulting with the Commander of his armies Gevorg Marzpetouni, the King



finally selected the City of Kars in the Province of Vanand, for centuries the property of the brave princes of Vanand, located near the River Karoutz, and endowed with natural fortifications.

Having selected Kars as the seat of his kingdom, King Abbas first fortified the citadel. He surrounded the citadel with mighty walls and serrated towers, capped by high and powerful watch towers at the east end. He fortified the entrances with iron gates, protected by stone barricades. In the interior he built store houses for arms, ammunition and food supplies, supplemented by a huge water reservoir. In this way he insured himself against the contingency of surrender for lack of water supply.

After this, the King started to fortify the city. First, he built a double wall to the east and the south of the city, with square shaped towers and inaccessible bastions. He supplemented this with a huge moat which, joining the river to the east and the north, practically isolated the city with its citadel. And since the city was surrounded on the three sides (east, west and north) by dikes, towering hills and deep ravines, at various suitable spots the King erected countless forts which, in time of war, could serve as advance bastions. He provided these forts with troops, war engines, and food supplies.

Having completed these labors the King turned his attention to the renovation of the city. First he built a magnificent royal mansion. Next he built a beautiful castle inside the citadel, after which, he moved the seat of the Catholicos from Yerazgavors to Kars, and proclaimed the city his new capital. Then he started to embellish the new capital with new buildings, beautiful palaces, public asylums, public baths, new boulevards and arched bridges.

As a result, in a short while the city was filled with various newcomers who founded the nation's artisans shops, weaving fac-

tories, spacious armories, and with the ensuing incessant traffic and the busy trade, they converted the city into one of the most teeming and prosperous marts of the times.

It was the year of 943, the fifteenth anniversary of the King's accession to the throne, and yet, only now was being completed one of the principal buildings of Kars the foundation of which had been laid 13 years before. This was the magnificent Cathedral of Sourb Arakelotz (The Church of the Holy Apostles), which the King had pledged at the time of his coronation. The Cathedral was located at the base of the citadel, on a beautiful terrace, constructed to the perfection of contemporary architecture. Externally magnificent, it was an octagonal sculptured building. The interior was cross-shaped, divided into twelve facets each of which bore the image of an apostle. Its pointed dome was mounted on columnless arches, capped by a shining cross which protected both the devout people who lived around it and the distant gurgling stream under the rocks.

Since the completion of the Church of the Holy Apostles and the fifteenth anniversary of the King's coronation coincided, the latter wanted to signalize the joint events with a memorable celebration. To this end he sent invitations to the Catholics, the princes of the land, the nobility, the ecclesiastical order and the neighboring rulers to assemble at the royal city of Kars and attend the anointing ceremony of the new Cathedral and the attendant festivities.

The preparations for the coming celebrations scarcely had begun when an unexpected event brought about a serious complication. The Prince of Taik informed the King that the King of Abkhazians had invaded his territory with a powerful force and was advancing on Gougarq.

Having strengthened his position during an uninterrupted interval of fifteen years of peace, King Ber of the Abkhazians sud-

denly had recalled his treaty with Tzlik Amram which transferred to him the northern provinces of Armenia but which he had been unable to acquire as a result of the Armenian King's sudden rise to power. Now that he felt himself sufficiently strong, and despite the fact that Tzlik Amram already was dead, he thought to profit from a defunct treaty.

King Abbas was at a loss what to do when he received the news because he was loath to wage a war with his neighbor. He appreciated the value of the peace, and especially he was solicitous about the lives of his soldiers whom he loved as his children. Besides, Ber was his brother-in-law and he was still hopeful of dissuading him from his mad adventure and to send him back to his land.

After consulting with his Commander Gevorg Marzpetouni, the King wrote a letter to King Ber asking him why he had invaded his land. "If you have no compelling cause for the peace of your land and mine, then remember I am your brother-in-law and your Christian neighbor. Therefore, you have more to gain from my friendship than from your enmity. Think well, therefore, and dismiss your imperialistic illusions, and know that the nation which forced you to remain silent for fifteen years can silence you once and forever unless you return to your land willingly."

He commissioned Prince Kor to deliver the letter to King Ber, and in case of an adverse answer, to scout the latter's strength and return to Kars. Before the arrival of Kor, however, the King of the Abkhazians already had invaded the Province of Ardahan in Gougarq and had camped his army on the right bank of the River Kour, to the north of the Fortress of Ardahan.

Having arrived at the camp of the Abkhazians, Prince Kor presented himself to King Ber who received him coldly in his tent, and taking the Armenian King's letter, handed it to his chief Scribe, ordering

him to read it in the presence of the Abkhazian princes.

When the Scribe reached the end of the letter where the Armenian King threatened "The Armenians will silence you forever unless you return home willingly," Ber was furious with indignation.

"Go, tell your King," he thundered at Kor, "I am not obliged to explain to him why I have invaded his land. This much I will say that I have heard he has built a new Cathedral in Kars and is about to celebrate the ceremony of its consecration. Tell him I have come to consecrate that church with the Georgian ritual and don't let him dare start the ceremonies until I have entered Kars with my army."

"Very well, great King," we will meet you to welcome you to our capital with all the more honor," Prince Kor replied sarcastically as he stepped out of the King's pavilion and having gathered his men returned to Vanand.

Having presented himself to the King, he gave a detailed account of his mission. Thereupon, the King told his Commander his decision to advance upon Gougarq and prevent Ber from entering Vanand.

Prince Marzpetouni who already had set his army in order before the return of his son, when he learned from the latter that several Caucasian tribes had joined the Abkhazians, sent messengers to the princes of Siuni to hasten to Gougarq with their contingents. Meanwhile, he divided his army into four parts, the first under the command of Crown Prince Ashot, the second under Prince Kor, the third under Sepouh Vahram. He himself commanded the fourth division. The latter was supported by the King's personal guard called Vostanik.

The King of the Abkhazians, however, despite his threats, had not moved one step to the south. He was still camped at Ardahan. And because he had learned that the Armenian forces were converging at

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Vanand, he did not venture to cross the River Kour lest he encountered resistance. He was still waiting to see the full strength of his enemy and only afterward to decide his future movements.

A few days later the Armenian army entered Ardahan and having reached the Abkhazian contingents in the north pitched camp opposite them on the left bank of the River Kour.

Prince Marzpetouni, now old and quite debilitated from a long peaceful life at the royal court, when he saw the army of the enemy Apkhazians, suddenly recovered his youthful resilience. After allowing himself and his army a few hours' rest he saddled his horse and started to set his army ready for battle because he suspected a surprise attack by the Apkhazians hoping to throw the tired Armenian army into confusion.

After these preparations the Commander and the generals assembled before the King to determine the time and the manner in which the battle was to begin. Prince Marzpetouni, as the most experienced of them all, advised attacking the enemy that very night, or at dawn at the latest. The Prince reasoned that the Abkhazians would not expect such a quick attack and consequently would be caught unprepared.

While admitting the wisdom of a sudden attack and the advantages which would accrue to the attacking side, the King still could not see how a tired army could be forced to make a crossing of the river without any preparations. To this, the Prince pointed out that the stream here was not very deep. The cavalry could easily effect a crossing while the infantry could be deployed at the bank to support the attack. The Prince volunteered to lead the cavalry aided by Sepouh Vahram, while the Crown Prince and Prince Kor, under the King's command, could stand by to support them in the ensuing engagement.

The King finally gave his assent provided the attack was launched in the morning to

give the soldiers a few hours of additional rest. This arrangement would further facilitate the task of the archers in their support of the cavalry.

Early in the morning when Venus had just reached its zenith and the sunlight still was hazy the army of the Armenians was up and ready to launch the attack. The Crown Prince and Prince Kor had stationed their contingents along the Kour River, one league away from the camp, facing the Abkhazians and waiting for the signal of the Commander. Meanwhile Prince Marzpetouni to prevent being observed by the Abkhazians, had made a detour of several leagues to cross the river and had led his cavalry to the opposite bank. As the eastern horizon crimsoned the Commander ordered his troops to accelerate their pace.

Meanwhile the camp of the Abkhazians was completely quiet. The King and the princes were asleep while the greater part of the soldiers had retired to their tents. As the light broke sufficiently to enable spying the opposite bank the patrol guards saw that the Armenians regiments were arrayed against them. The news threw the Abkhaz camp into confusion, because, although they had intended to start the attack that very day, they had never thought of starting that early. Dismayed by the unexpected attack, their Commander gave the alarm to arms.

The Abkhazians were in the midst of girding their armor when the Armenian cavalry swooped upon them with a thunderous cry. Confounded by the shock, the Abkhazians rushed out of their tents, surging and jostling one another in their effort to form their ranks but it was to no avail. Many of them were still unarmed, many were half dressed and only a few were fully armed. Besides, part of the troops were in the process of assembling while the others were scattering, the latter hardly pressed by the Armenians to prevent their joining the main body. The exhortations of the

Abkhaz princes and especially their Commander somewhat restored the morale of the disorganized mob to form the semblance of a united front. These numbers were augmented by slowly arriving new armed companies who, having joined the former, stiffened their resistance. All the same, the force of the Armenian attack was so impetuous that the Abkhaz soldiers, although fighting bravely, could not defend their camp, and being driven from their fortified posts, the fury of the fight was transferred into the open plain.

Just then King Ber appeared on the scene, surrounded by his mighty guards, who started to exhort his troops. Inspired by the presence of their King, the latter took courage and resumed the fight with renewed vigor. But since the Armenians had driven them to the bank of the river within range of the Armenian archery, the latter cut loose such a volley of arrows which momentarily stunned the Abkhazians who were at a loss to know whether to fight the cavalry or to defend themselves against the arrows.

Finally, seeing the futility of resistance against two flanks, the Abkhazians abandoned the field and took to flight. Neither the commands of the King nor the exhortations of their Commander could induce them to return to the fight. The Armenians chased the fleeing enemy with great shouts, seeing which, the infantry on the bank rushed to the shallow river, and crossing to the other side, joined the cavalry in its chase.

The same day the Commander sent messengers to Siunik to notify the princes of the great victory and to tell them that further aid from them was no longer necessary. But when the messengers arrived the princes of Siuni already had reached the border of Ardahan. Princes Sahak and Babken, who were personally indebted to King Abbas, expressed a desire to see the King personally and to congratulate him on his vic-

tory. Thus, they advanced with their regiments as far as Ardahan.

The royal army now elated by the great victory, with the arrival of the Sisakan princes and their regiments, was even more happy. For two days incessantly they celebrated the victory with merry making without suspecting that the Abkhazians could return to the attack. The surprise attack took place exactly at the same hour in the morning that the Armenian cavalry had surprised the Abkhazians.

Unable to endure the insult of his defeat, King Ber had rallied his scattered forces and had fired them with the spirit of revenge. Having crossed the river by night, the Abkhazians had reached the Armenian encampment at the morning hour of prayer, and had they attacked silently they could have wrought a great slaughter. But the King of the Abkhazians, thinking to terrify the enemy, had ordered to sound the trumpets.

The unexpected sound had aroused the Armenian soldiers who were alert enough not to step out of their tents without putting on their armor. The commanders, however, heading the guards, rushed to the palisades to hold off the enemy. Meanwhile, Commander Marzpetouni having mounted his steed flew to his cavalry and the infantry companies, and with complete composure started to set them in battle array.

Meanwhile the Abkhazians encircled the camp and with loud shouts started to attack all over. A part of them climbed up the palisades to repel the guards while the other part encircled the square of the tents.

The Armenians, although fully armed by this time, were hemmed in by the enemy, nevertheless, encouraged by their Commander, rushed out and engaged the enemy in a number of points. Having hoped to disarm the Armenians, the Abkhazians vigorously kept pushing them back into their

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tents while the Armenians were trying to cut through their ranks. It was a furious and stubbornly fought encounter, both sides fighting for the upper hand, without yielding one step to the other.

King Abbas who had full confidence in his Commander's ability was momentarily expecting him to pierce the chain and drive the enemy into the open plain, but when he saw that the Abkhazians were steadily prevailing, he mounted his steed and unsheathing his shining sword led his troops into the fray. The shock of his attack caused the Abkhazians to recoil for a moment. But since the fight was centered right in the midst of the camp, the Armenians had no freedom of motion to drive the enemy into the plain.

At this crucial moment a providential circumstance came to the aid of the Armenians. The Sisakan Princes who were encamped a distance of one league from the site of the battle, having learned of the Abkhazians' surprise return, divided their regiments into two parts and fell on the enemy from two opposing directions. To protect themselves against the newcomers the Abkhazians were forced to divide their forces in a number of points, and eventually were forced out into the plain. Here the battle was resumed with renewed ferocity, both sides inspired by the presence of their kings and the exhortations of their generals, fighting with the bravery of desperation.

But the bloody encounter would have resulted in a great slaughter, and victory would have hung in the balance for a long time had not the Armenian Commander, to decide the outcome, resorted to an old Parthian tactic. He ordered Prince Kor and the Crown Prince to lure the Abkhazians by taking flight with their archers.

The Abkhazian cavalry separated itself from the main body and with triumphant shouts started to chase the fleeing Armenians. Meanwhile the fighting Armenians pushed the remainder of the Abkhazians to the bank of the Kour River. Seeing this, Kor's archers made a sudden about-face and showered the Abkhazian cavalry with their arrows. This stratagem, long familiar to the Armenians, threw the Abkhazians into confusion who saw now that they had been clearly fooled. And since they could neither fight against the arrows nor could return to the camp, for the Armenians had cut off their path, their only salvation lay in their flight.

Dismayed by the sudden turn, the Abkhazians at the bank surged into the river, hoping to rally their forces on the other bank. But the Armenians gave them no time to make the crossing. Those who had escaped the swords found a watery grave. The River Kour was filled with Abkhazian corpses and its waters were red with Abkhazian blood.

King Ber who at the head of a brave company was still fighting furiously, seeing the demoralization of his troops, decided to abandon the field because further resistance was useless, but this time he was surrounded by Vahram Sepouh's regiment. Weilding his huge sword and roaring like a lion, followed by his royal guard, he tried to cut his way through but those who surrounded him were the Vanandians, formidable and fierce giants, and their commander was Sepouh Vahram himself.

After a fierce struggle he was overpowered and captured. So were the remainder of his guard. The news of his capture paralyzed all Abkhazian resistance and the Armenians, after gathering the loot, returned to their camp with a light heart.



## CHAPTER IX

### The End of a Hero

Thereafter King Abbas once again turned his attention to the question of internal reforms by trying to cement the bond of friendship with his allied princes and winning the friendship of dissident princes. The celebrations of the newly-built Cathedral in the fall of 943 was a propitious occasion to this end. The King sent invitations to Catholicos Ananias who had just ascended the Throne of Aghtamar, the senior bishops of Armenia, Ashot Terenik, the King of Vaspourakan, the Lords of Aghtznis, Mok, and Tourouberan and the Princes of Taik and other places, Sahak Sevada's son David, many other illustrious personages and a great multitude.

After the festivities which lasted for several days, at the proposal of Gevorg Marzpetouni, a treaty was formed which bound together the King, all the royal houses and the princes who took a solemn oath, whenever the fatherland was endangered in the future, to take up arms and repel the enemy under the command of the Supreme King of Ararat.

The Treaty was read in the newly-built Cathedral by Catholicos Ananias himself and was signed by the Kings of Ararat and Vaspourakan and the Armenian princes, all of whom swore to preserve the sacred Union which was designed to serve the general strengthening of the Fatherland and the perpetual welfare of the Armenian people.

The King then rewarded his illustrious guests with precious gifts who took their departure with cordial sentiments. But he reserved some unique honors for a few of his loyal princes. To the Lords of Aghtznis and Mok who had remained loyal to the throne from beginning to end he bestowed new estates and gave them the title of prince.

To the kin of Siunis who had remained

loyal to the throne from beginning to end he granted a number of adjoining provinces. Vahram Sepouh who had joined Marzpetouni from the most trying days of King Ashot and had participated in all his fights, his victories and his misfortunes, he appointed Lord of the lands of Outis and Aghvans, with all the prerogatives and revenues which Tzlik Amram enjoyed in the days of Ashot the Iron.

Prince David, the son of Sahak Sevada, he appointed anew Lord of Quardman, to heal the rupture with the Royal Throne which had started in the days of Ashot the Iron. And since Queen Sahakanoush had retired in those days from Yerazgavors to her native Quardman, to enable her to pass the remainder of her life with her brother, the King granted her and her brother a few provinces from the land of Aghvans.

As to Gevorg Marzpetouni, the King did not know how to reward this prince to whose steadfast patriotism he owed the reestablishment of his throne, the Fatherland and its welfare.

"In my entire kingdom there is not a treasure great enough to compensate the gratitude I owe you," he said one day to Marzpetouni in the presence of the princes. "The only worthy gift I can bestow upon you is the title 'Benefactor of the Fatherland' which I confer upon you from this day."

Saying it, the King held Marzpetouni's right hand and kissed it warmly.

The old Prince was deeply touched. He embraced the King, kissed his forehead and said:

"I have already received my reward from God, which is, I have seen my Fatherland peaceful and happy, the Royal Throne is safe, the Armenian princes are united, and the enemies of Armenia driven from the land. Now I can say with a clear conscience:

"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation'."

After a few years of peaceful life at the royal court the Benefactor of the Fatherland neared the end of his journey. He summoned his son Kor and his daughter-in-law Shahandoukhd to his side to give them his last blessing.

"The strength of the nations is in the families," said the old man. "That nation is strong which has strong families, united, affectionate, virtuous and loyal families. Those peasant huts, those obscure houses in which live children with tattered clothes whom the great princes scorn, those are the very ones who embody the Fatherland's strength. He who wishes to see the nation strong and the Fatherland victorious must first of all take care of the families like the provident gardener who, to strengthen the branches and to reap their fruit, nourishes the roots of the tree which, although buried in the earth and invisible to the human eye, sustain the life of the tree. Even as the plant whose roots are dried up or eaten by the worms cannot live, so the nation whose families are contaminated, which have dispelled love, unity and virtue, and most of all the love of God, cannot stand erect.

"If the contaminated families of the common people can be so harmful to a Nation and the Fatherland, how much more harmful and destructive are the families of the reigning princes if they are stained. King Ashot's family is a striking example. How much pain, tears and misery was brought about by a single human weakness of that mighty hero, and how costly was that weakness to the Fatherland!

"Knowing all this, my beloved children, listen to my last command and keep it with sacred resolve. That command is condensed in three words, 'Love One Another.'

"This love will make you happy and will make your children happy. That love will

bring God's blessing on the Marzpetouni home whose heirs you are."

The old man was silent. Kor and Shahandoukht knelt before him, fervently kissed his right hand, and promised to observe their worthy father's sacred command.

Hearing the old prince was nearing his end, the King called on him to know where he wished his remains to rest after his death.

"My oath forbids me to be buried in my native Karni," the Prince said. "Bury me in a corner of the Fatherland wherever you wish."

"I would like to take your body to Bakaran and bury you in the cemetery of the Bagratouni kings," the King said.

"Bakaran? Good. Take me there, but do not bury me in the cemetery of your fathers. There, Ah yes, are buried your martyred father and your martyred brother. I would like to rest by their side. But there also is buried Ashot the Tyrant. Life has alienated me from that traitor; death must not unite me with him."

"What then is your wish?" the King asked.

"Gather me in front of the citadel, on the height of the rocks, so that I can watch over the tomb of Ashot the Tyrant, so that he no longer will betray the saints around him," replied the Prince in a dying voice.

A few days later the Benefactor of the Fatherland passed away.

The whole Court, the royal city of Kars and all the Araratian lands mourned his death. King Abbas prepared a royal funeral for the Benefactor of the Fatherland.

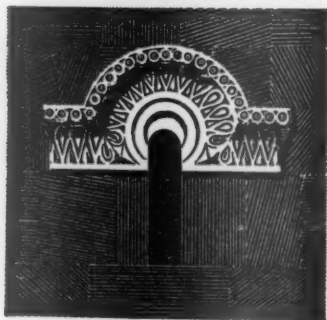
The body of Marzpetouni was laid reverently before the Citadel, on a mighty acclivity of the rocks, at whose base the farmers of the Akhourian River murmured their eternal blessing of the Armenian hero's achievements.

Thereupon King Abbas bestowed upon Kor, as the worthy son of a great father, the post of Commander of the Armies. And to perpetuate the memory of Marzpetouni, he erected over his tomb a church which was called St. George, of all the vanished

ruins of Bakaran the only one which stands erect to this day.

### THE END

*Marzpetouni was translated by James G. Mandalian*



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# BOOKS AND AUTHORS

H. Kurdian, Reviewing Editor

**THE ALPHABET A KEY TO THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.** By David Diringer. Second and revised Edition. Hutchinson's Publications, Octavo, 608 pp. illustrated. cloth, Price \$7.00.

Here is an encyclopedic work that covers all the alphabets of the world.

The author deals with the earliest Ikonography to the present alphabets, with their origins, etc. He states that: "The alphabet is the last, the most highly developed, the most convenient and the most easily adaptable system of writing." (p. 37) Of course there are many interesting sections to the book, but our space here does not permit us to indulge in an extensive exegesis. Therefore I will only concentrate on the Armenian, Albanian and Georgian alphabets.

Dr. Diringer under the general title "Probable Offshoots of Aramaic Branch", in speaking of ARMENIAN SCRIPT, writes.

"A script for the Armenian language, philologically a most important and independent member of the Indo-European family, was not introduced until the spread of Christianity in Armenia and after the Armenian Church became independent or autocephalic in 369. In fact, about A.D. 400, St. Mesrob or Mash'otz (the "saint"), in collaboration with St. Sahak and a Greek from Samosata called Rufanos, was the creator of this script so excellently suited to the Armenian speech. The faith century was also the Golden Age of Armenian literature" (p. 320)

Dr. Diringer's reference to the Armenian Church becoming "independent or autocephalic in 369" needs correction. If the author means "independent or autocephalic" by the establishment of St. Gregory the Illuminator as the head of the Armenian church and subsequent hereditary autocephalic rule of his descendants then the date should be set in the second half of the third century A.D., but never 369 as the author says. If on the other hand the author gives the 369 A.D. as the year when the Armenian church broke from the universal church due to the Council of Chalcedon then the year should be corrected to 451 when that Council was assembled and Armenians broke from it. In short 369 A.D. has no significance as a date in the history of Armenian Church for its becoming "independent or autocephalic".

Speaking of the "Origin of Armenian Writing," Dr. Diringer states: "Among the various theories regarding the script on which Mesrop based his creation, the following are the more important; (1) A suggestion that the Armenian alphabet is

based on the Greek; (2) that a cursive Aramaic-Persian, Pahlavi, alphabet was the foundation with some Greek influence; (3) while the most recent theory advanced by the German scholar Junker suggests that both the Armenian and the Georgian alphabets are based on the pahlavik script with the addition of some letters of the Avesta-alphabet. Greek influence, however, was felt in the creation of vowels, the direction of writing, and the upright and regular position of the characters, not in the form of particular signs. The only criticism of the latter theory is that not sufficient account has been taken of the inventive power of the creator (pp. 321-2). Of course any guess is good because Pahlavi, Aramaic, Persian or Greek was well known to the Armenians because they have adopted many words and Armenianized them for their own use in literature as well as speech. I believe it would have been most natural for St. Mesrob to borrow his alphabetic forms from all these languages to complete the rich Armenian linguistic sounds. The Greek influence perhaps was more because of the influence of Christianity and great Greek educational centers (as Samosata) was one of them, as were Alexandria, Constantinople, etc. where Armenian students completed their higher education as Christians and students of liberal arts). And yes one should take into "sufficient account" the great and admirable inventive power of St. Mesrop.

Dr. Diringer speaking of the Origin of the GEORGIAN SCRIPT writes.

"The origin of the Georgian writing and the connection between its two main varieties (Mkhedruli and Khutsuri) are still uncertain.

"Traditionally it is considered as a creation of St. Mesrop, parallel to that of the Armenian writing. According to Allen, the Georgian alphabet is a perfect instrument for rendering the wealth of varied sounds in the language; the letters give each different sound with accuracy and clearness, and no other alphabet, including the Armenian, compares with it in efficiency." Allen, therefore, concludes that "it would seem that the alphabet had a long and slow evolution to its present state of perfection, rather than it was invented whole by a foreigner." In conclusion, "the Georgian script is, like the Georgian language, ancient and original, and in its perfection to the use for which it is required, it bears the stamp of a venerable individuality" (n. 324).

First I would like to say that it is not TRADITION that attributes the presently used Georgian alphabets to be the invention of St. Mesrop, no indeed, it is an unimpeachable and contemporary

reference, a bona fide historical testimony by Armenian historian Gorjun who wrote his work in 443 A.D. and who was a student and an eye witness of St. Mesrop and his alphabetic inventions. To brand this as tradition is to undervalue unquestionably correct historical testimonies and thus create a precedent of accepting or ignoring historical data as one wishes and suits his needs.

We may agree with Allen that "the Georgian alphabet is a perfect instrument for rendering the wealth of varied sounds in the language" etc. However I fail to understand how Mr. Allen knows if St. Mesrop was able or was not able to create that "perfect instrument". I say he was able because he, St. Mesrop, was accredited with that creative ability, because we have historical testimony, because he also has created the Armenian alphabet, which no one can deny; because St. Mesrop also created the Caucasian Albanian alphabet.

Also it is amazing to state that any alphabet could have "a long and slow evolution" at any time, particularly when one adds that the Georgian script is "ancient and original." Are we made to believe that Mr. Allen has discovered pre-St. Mesrop Georgian alphabets of any sort and particularly like the present known one and thus he can judge that this alphabet is ancient, that is much more ancient than St. Mesrop's era? And about the originality of the same alphabet: for example, in the first 20 Khutsuri Georgian Majuscules at a glance 12 of them could pass for perfect Armenian Majuscules in shape. St. Mesrop was inventing the Khutsuri for the Georgians, and even when he used Armenian Majuscules of his invention he naturally gave them other sound values than they had in Armenian; otherwise it would not been necessary to create separate alphabets for the Armenian and the Georgians.

St. Mesrop while inventing the Georgian alphabet naturally studied the language, the sounds of that language, the needs of the language. He had the assistance of Georgian doctors, besides he had the intelligence and the ability to do a good job, and he did a good job. He could only create an alphabet that should have become "a perfect instrument" with "perfection" and with "venerable individuality", otherwise he would not have been the inventor he is reputed to be, history would not have credited him with the great work, and what is above all the Georgians would not have kept and used the alphabet if St. Mesrop's creation was not useful. St. Mesrop was not doodling and killing time in general by "inventing" alphabets. He spent a life time in doing the job, in learning how to do the job as a "perfect instrument" with "venerable individuality".

Dr. Diringer, following Junker, obviously, says: "A local tradition attributes the origin of the Khutsuri to the creator of the Armenian alphabet, which is quite possible. In fact, the Khutsuri seems to be somehow connected with the Armenian alphabet, although nowadays only some letters of the two scripts look alike." (p. 325)

That when forming the Georgian alphabets St. Mesrop took into consideration Greek, Pahlavi, Persian and Aramaic alphabets as well as his newly created Armenian is more than possible and probable.

Dr. Diringer speaking of the Alban or Alvan Alphabet states.

"According to Armenian tradition, St. Mesrop created another alphabet for the Albans or Alvans. According to the Armenians, the territory in question (that is the classical kingdom of Albania), is called Aghvanir in their language; it is also known as Shirvan." (p. 325)

Again may I say that it is not "according to Armenian traditions" but through Gorjun's unimpeachable *History of St Mesrop* that we know St. Mesrop was the creator of the Caucasian Alban alphabet. Unfortunately until now, that is during the past 1500 years, nothing was found of the Caucasian Albanian alphabet, at least nothing had been identified as such. Due to this doubt was created about Gorjun's contemporary statement of St. Mesrop's creation of the Caucasian Albanian alphabet. Finally two Armenian manuscripts one at the state library in Erivan from 15th century (No. 1770), and the second manuscript in my collection from about 1580 A.D., have the alphabets and their sounds. I have an article on the subject and the discovery of the Caucasian Albanian alphabets in the next issue of THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY of Great Britain and Ireland.

Dr. Diringer's AGHVANIR in Armenian is not right. If it is in classical it should be AGHVANK, and if it is in modern AGHVANNER. The territory should be called in classical Armenian AGHVANITZ ASHGHAH and in modern AGHVAN-NEROU ASHGHAH or YERGUIR.

Dr. Diringer's book is well illustrated, has a complete bibliography and a very useful index that render the book material accessible. Of course it is an ambitious attempt for one person to undertake such a great job as the alphabet; however Dr. Diringer has managed to present the material within the covers of one volume with ample bibliography for those who want to go on from where he has left off.

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**STUDIES IN CAUCASIAN HISTORY**, by Prof. V. Minorsky. Cambridge Oriental Series No. 6. Cloth, octavo (large), London, 1953, pp. 188. Price 35 s net of \$4.60.

These important studies contain three very interesting monographs. (1) New light on the Shaddadids of Ganja (A.D. 951-1075). The Shaddadids ruled eastern Transcaucasia from the cities of Ganja and Dvin. Prof. Minorsky here first translates the Arabic historical work Jami al-duwal written by Munejjim bashi Ahmad b. Lutfullah (died in Mekka in 1702), who had used among other sources a local history of Sharvan and Arran now lost. Lutfullah's work now is kept in Top-Kapi Sarayi museum as MS. 2951. Prof. Minorsky publishes the complete text at the end of this volume in Arabic. He gives the English translation in pages 8-25. However the work becomes extremely valuable because the learned Prof. adds a wealth of information of notes, explanations and elaborations.

(2) The next study is about "The Shaddadids of Ani (A.D. 1064-1198). This is an extensive study. Prof. Minorsky speaking of Avak Sargis (Mxargrdzeli, Yergainapazuk) and his forbears

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says "their ancestors were Mesopotamian Kurds of the tribe Babirakan". A little below he adds "The ancestors of Zak'are and Ivane came to serve Armenian lords very much in the same way as the Shaddadids did before them." (p. 102) It is true that the Babirakan Kurdish origin of Avak Sargis, Zak'are and Ivane comes from the usually reliable Kirakos, but somehow they do not seem enough because the Yergainapazuk clan always seems to have been extremely good Christian Armenians, and even when they were in Georgian service they still remained good Armenian devoted Christians, ordering manuscripts, building churches in Armenia and for Armenians. I can not visualize any Kurdish clan accepting Christianity (from Mohamedanism) and so devotedly serve Armenia and the Armenians. Prof. Minorsky's likening them to Shaddadids may not be accepted because the Shaddadids were and remained Mohammedan. Nor can we say that the Shaddadids served Armenian lords like the Yergainapazuk clan did.

(3) Study is "The Prehistory of Saladin" whose father was originally from Azdankan village close to Dvin the ancient capital of Armenia.

All three studies are very important for Armenian studies of the 9th to 12th century. Prof. V. Minorsky with great ability enriches the history of Armenia of the period from many sources in which Armenian sources play an important part. No doubt Armeniology owes a great deal already to the learned Prof., and this volume adds still more to our obligation to him. I believe all students of Armenian history are greatly indebted to him, and I take this opportunity to thank him most sincerely.

These splendid studies are completed with an index thus rendering it most useful for research.

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**LES HYMNES DE L'EGLISE ARMENIENNE.**  
*Notation du R. P. Leonce Dr. Dayan. Large quarto, paper, Mekhitarist Press St. Lazaro, Venice, Italy.*

A magnificent publication on ecclesiastic Armenian music prepared ably by my good and very dear friend Father Dayan.

I believe the ad introducing this publication is adequate enough to speak for itself, so with the reader's indulgence I republish it here with the hope that I will be doing a service to all those who are interested in music in general and Armenian church music in particular.

I do hope that there will be enough subscribers in the U. S. to pay for the high technical cost of publication of this important work. All experts agree that this is a worthwhile and beautiful work, and a must for all libraries, public or university, as well as for students of early music and lovers of Armenian music.

Little material on Armenian music of this high standard is accessible especially in some European popular language. This no doubt is one of the

most outstanding in that field being printed in Armenian as well as French.

Here is the informative important ad:

"We beg to inform the musical world that the printing of the **ARMENIAN HYMN-BOOK** in European musical notation by Father Leonzio Davan has begun. The work is dedicated to the Ven. Abb. Mekhitar of Sebaste, founder of our Mekhitarist Congregation of S. Lazzaro in Venice, in memory of the second centenary of his death.

"This musical repertory contains the sacred hymns of the Armenian Church preserved by oral tradition in the Mother Monastery of the Island of S. Lazzaro. The hymns have a special value as typical of Armenian music for the following reasons:

"(a) Mekhitar, having studied in the convents of Armenia, particularly in those of Echmiadzin and the Holy Cross in Sebaste, later, according to the testimony of his biographers, monastic tradition and the annals of the congregation, taught these songs to his first disciples who handed them down to future descendants.

"(b) In the Armenian Hymnal there will be included among the series of traditional hymns several (teghi) (i. e.; melismatic songs for solo) which belong in general to the Holy Week and are preserved by tradition only at the monastery of S. Lazzaro. These songs, are attributed to the great artist Baba Hampartoum Limongian, inventor of the modern Armenian notation, as attested — apart from the tradition still alive at S. Lazzaro — by several sources worthy of credit.

"(c) To the Armenian Hymn-Book we have added as variants several other hymns chosen from among those existing to-day in the Armenian Church.

"(d) The Armenian Hymn-Book has a further advantage in that the amateur, instead of having to cope with the signs adopted hitherto in musical literature, will be able to follow with no difficulty the four-tone system of Father Davan for stringed instruments — a system that has been recognized and approved by such world-famous musicians as Ottorino Respighi, Francesco Malipiero, E. Cavallini, Charles Munch and various European Academies of Music and Musical Reviews (e. g. on the occasion of the publication of the famous Armenian Hymn of Good Friday). With this system the song will more faithfully reproduce the oriental spirit.

"The Armenian Hymn-Book will be published part by part to form a series of twelve volumes. The Preface, with a special historical and theoretical end by the author, will form the first volume of the Hymn-Book to be published later.

"We have published the Fourth Volume of the Armenian Hymn-Book first which contains 207 folios. (PRICE \$25.00).

"The volume is a rich treasure of newly discovered musical materials.

"For further details please apply to: P. LEONCE Dr. DAYAN, IMPRIMERIE ARMENIENNE, St. Lazare, Venice, Italie.

# EIGHT YEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT

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By VAHE A. SARAFIAN

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<i>Roucek, Joseph S.</i>	Pan-Slavism as a Communist Propaganda Weapon in Education, Politics and Religion	28	1954
<i>Sabakian, Aram</i>	Cardinal Aghajanian	3	1948
<i>Sammuelian, G.</i>	Totemism among the Armenians	8	1949
<i>Sarafian, Vabe A.</i>	Paulician Protestantism Before 844 A.D.	14	1951
	Paulician Protestantism and Basil I of Byzantium	15	1951
	The Soviet and the Armenian Church	30	1955
<i>Sarkisyanz, E.</i>	Urartu — The Pre-Armenian Armenia	29	1955
<i>Saro, H.</i>	Terrors from the Crime of 1915	3	1948
<i>Sirouni, H. J.</i>	The Armenians of Rumania (7 parts)	17-23	1952-3
<i>Surmelian, Leon</i>	The Lesson of a Holy War	27	1954
<i>Totomiantz, Vahan</i>	Some Contributions of Armenians to World Culture	4	1948
<i>Vasilian, Hampartzoum</i>	Two Months in the Interior of Turkey	17	1952
<i>Zavrian, H.</i>	The Polish Armenian Community (4 parts)	13-16	1951

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<i>"Azdak" (newspaper)</i>	Remnants of the Turkish Genocide	8	1949
<i>Darian, Armen</i>	Distinguished Armenians Purged by the Soviet	19	1952
<i>"R. D."</i>	The Question of the Armenian Boundaries and the Repatriation	1	1948
<i>Ermoyan, Herant</i>	More News from Soviet Armenia	11	1950
	The Armenians of Soviet Georgia and Azerbaijan	21	1953
<i>Kushikian, B.</i>	One Month in Turkey	22	1953
<i>Mandalian, James G.</i>	The Armenian Side, An Answer to Miss Temel	5	1949
<i>Mekhisarian, Onnig</i>	The Defense of Van (8 parts)	1-8	1948-9
<i>Melkonian, Vartan</i>	Armenians in Iraq	6	1949
<i>Sarafian, Vabe A.</i>	The Problem of Caucasian Population Statistics Under Tsarist and Soviet Rule	23	1953
<i>Sarkisian, Haik</i>	The Number of Armenians in the U. S. S. R.	27	1954
<i>Sirouni, H. J.</i>	The Armenians of Rumania (7 parts)	17-23	1952-3
<i>Tashjian, James H.</i>	The American Military Mission to Armenia (13 parts)	5-17	1949-52
<i>Temel, Sefie Bilge</i>	The Armenians as Viewed by a Turkish Student	5	1949
<i>Vasilian, Hampartzoum</i>	Two Months in the Interior of Turkey	17	1952
<i>Zavrian, H.</i>	The Polish Armenian Community (4 parts)	13-16	1951

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<i>Aboghian, Artasbes</i>	Stepan Malkhasiantz	4	1948
<i>Adamesteanu, Dinu</i>	Nicholas Iorga and Armenian Studies	28	1954
<i>Agbayan, E.</i>	Twenty-Five Years of Armenian Linguistics	15	1951
<i>Anonymous</i>	Harry A. Kuljian-Consulting Engineer	14	1951
	Johaness Lepsius — Armenophile	17	1952
<i>Balakian, Nona</i>	Eleeza Hadian (Tamara Tegour): A Poet in		

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	Search of Herself	21	1953
<i>Banker, Marie Sarrafian</i>	Pioneers of Protestantism in Asia Minor	24	1953
<i>Brussov, Valery</i>	The Poetry of Armenia (4 parts)	1-4	1948
<i>Chakmakjian, K. H.</i>	Haita Mustafa	7	1949
<i>Darbinian, Reuben</i>	Rouben Der Minassian	21	1953
<i>Darian, Armen</i>	Distinguished Armenians Purged by the Soviets	19	1952
<i>Ermoyan, Herand</i>	The 1951-52 Soviet Purges in Georgia and Armenia	20	1952
<i>Gavoor, Rouben</i>	Mamoulion — An Interpreter of Armenian Folklore	5	1949
	Dr. Mueller M. De Van — Man of Perseverance	6	1949
	Arshak Fetvadjian — The Artist and the Man	11	1950
	Haig Patigian — the Sculptor	13	1951
	Lucine Amara, Young Star of the Metropolitan	20	1952
	George Magar Mardikian	22	1953
	Leon Danielian — Star of Ballet	30	1953
<i>Guzalian, K.</i>	Rene Grousset	22	1953
<i>Haroutunian, Margaret</i>	Alexander Spendiarian	24	1953
<i>Khatchatourian, Aram</i>	Khatchatourian on Prokofiev	26	1954
<i>Kurdian, H.</i>	Painter Onnig Avedisian	19	1952
	Armenian Cartoonist Alexander Saroukhan	20	1952
	Architect Arrashess Orakian	23	1953
	Anania Shirakatzi	27	1954
<i>Manning, Clarence A.</i>	Nikolay Marr and Armenian Studies	27	1954
<i>Markarian, Aram</i>	Consulting Engineer Sarkes Tarzian	16	1951
	Steven Derounian, Our First Congressman	21	1953
<i>Masissian, V.</i>	Avetis Aharonian	3	1948
<i>Maxoudian, Noubar</i>	Early Armenia as an Empire: the Career of Tigranes III	21	1953
<i>Mekbitarian, Kourken</i>	A Quarter Century of Armenian Literature Abroad	23	1953
<i>Mesrobian, Arpena</i>	Nigol Aghbalian	1	1948
	Mekhitar of Sebastia	10	1950
<i>Messerian, (Father)</i>	The Philology of Hrachya Ajarian	26	1954
<i>Minas, Lootfi</i>	Bedros Tourian	25	1954
<i>Mooradian, Karlen</i>	Arshile Gorky	30	1953
<i>Mooradian, M.</i>	Spiridon Melikian	23	1953
<i>Murad, Lilliam G.</i>	Anania Shiragatz: The Armenian Mathematician of the VIIth Century and His Table of Polygonal Numbers	21	1953
<i>Panian, K.</i>	The Late Levon Chanth	17	1952
<i>Sabakian, Aram</i>	Cardinal Aghajanian	3	1948
<i>Samourian, S.</i>	Dr H. Ohanjanian	2	1948
<i>Saroyan, William</i>	Hayastan and Charentz	28	1954
<i>Shostakovich, Dmitri</i>	Shostakovich on Aram Khatchatourian	26	1954
<i>Tashjian, James H.</i>	Dr. Varaztad H. Kazanjian	1	1948
	Sarkis Katchadourian: His Life and Work	2	1948
	Brig. Gen. Haig Shekerjian	17	1952
	'Transport' Maghakian	18	1952
	Infantryman Dervishian	20	1952
	Jacob S. Kamborian: Inventor and Industrialist	24	1953
<i>Terzian, Lawrence</i>	An Encounter with P. K. Thomajan	10	1950

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<i>Tsitsernak, K.</i>	Aghasi Khanjian	10	1950
<i>Zeitlian, S.</i>	Khatchatour Abovian	27	1954
ARCHITECTURE, ART, AND ARCHAEOLOGY			
<i>Abeghian, Artashes</i>	History of Armenia	7	1949
<i>Agbbalian, Nicol</i>	The People and the Land of Armenia	9	1950
<i>Frye, Richard N.</i>	Aspects of Ancient Armenian History	29	1955
<i>Gavadorian, Gara</i>	Dovin and its Role in Armenian History	28	1954
<i>Gavoor, Ronben</i>	Arshak Fetvadjian — The Artist and the Man	11	1950
	Haig Patigian — the Sculptor	13	1951
<i>Kanian, A. K.</i>	Archaeological Science and Armenian Architecture	6	1949
<i>Kazanjian, H.</i>	A Note on Armenian Architecture	21	1953
<i>Khatchatrian, A.</i>	The Architecture of Armenia (2 parts)	13-14	1951
<i>King, E. H.</i>	A Visit to the Tomb of a Medieval Armenian Patriarch	6	1949
<i>Kurdian, H.</i>	A Historical Glimpse to the Art of Rug Weaving in Armenia	4	1948
	H. Kurdian Collection of Armenian Manuscripts	6	1949
	The Romance of Alexander	8	1949
	Unique Enamel Bindings on an Armenian MS.	10	1950
	Painter Onnig Avedisian	19	1952
	Architect Artashes Orakian	23	1953
	Collecting Armenian Manuscripts	25	1954
<i>Manning, Clarence A.</i>	Nikolay Marr and Armenian Studies	27	1954
<i>Mooradian, Karlen</i>	Arshile Gorky	30	1955
<i>Rustigian, Stella S.</i>	A General Survey of Armenian Art	4	1948
<i>Sarkisyanz, E.</i>	Urartu-the Pre-Armenian Armenia	29	1955
<i>Tashjian, James H.</i>	Sarkis Katchadourian: His Life and Work	2	1948

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<i>Ensanian, Minas</i>	Einstein's Fourth Dimension	23	1953
	The Element Hydrogen	27	1954
<i>Houbaness, Alan</i>	Resurrection Amid Ruins — The Spiritual Significance of Raga and Tala in Armenian Music	16	1951
<i>Kuljian, Harry A.</i>	A Look at the World's Energy Resources	26	1954
<i>Kurdian, H.</i>	Anania Shirakatzi	27	1954
<i>Murad, Lillian G.</i>	Anania Shiragatz: The Armenian Mathematician of the VIIth Century and His Table of Polygonal Numbers	21	1953
<i>Sarafian, Vabe A.</i>	Stature of the Armenian People	16	1951
	The Eye-Color of the Armenian People	17	1952
	Cephalic Index of the Armenians	28	1954
<i>Sevag, M. G.</i>	Drug Resistance and Related Problems	24	1953
<i>Sivadjian, Joseph</i>	On the Periodic Structure of Corpuscular Beams and the Quantum and Wave Theories	26	1954

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<i>Agbajanian, Shabokram</i>	Courtly Love	20	1952
<i>Balagian, Nona</i>	Thoughts on Saroyan's 'Jim Dandy' and the Development of a Playwright	1	1948

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<i>Brussov, Valery</i>	The Poetry of Armenia (4 parts)	1-4	1948
<i>Darbinian, Reuben</i>	Rouben Der Minassian	21	1953
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<i>Hovian, Stepan</i>	The History of Armenian Literature and Its Study in Soviet Armenia	27	1954
<i>Krappe, Alexander H.</i>	The Indian Origin of an Armenian Folk Tale	5	1949
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<i>Mabdesian, Arsbag</i>	A Probable Source of "Forty Days of Musa Dagh"	1	1948
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<i>Minas, Lootfi</i>	Bedros Tourian	25	1954
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<i>Ponian, K.</i>	The Late Levon Chanth	17	1952
<i>Sarkissian, A. O.</i>	On the Authenticity of Moses of Khoren's History	1	1948
<i>Setrakian, Arpaxat</i>	About the Hairenik Monthly and the Political Situation	3	1948
<i>Surmelian, Leon</i>	The Lesson of a Holy War	27	1954
<i>Terzian, Lawrence</i>	An Encounter with P. K. Thomajan	10	1950
<i>Tologian, Aram</i>	Original Translations from Daniel Varoujean	25	1954
<i>Varvarian, H. S.</i>	David of Sassoun	29	1955
<i>Zeislian, S.</i>	Khatchatour Abovian	27	1954

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<i>Aghbalian, Nicol</i>	The People and the Land of Armenia	9	1950
<i>King, E. H.</i>	A Visit to the Tomb of a Medieval Armenian Patriarch	6	1949
<i>Lisitzian, Levon</i>	Physiographic Armenia	29	1955
<i>Manandian, Y. A.</i>	A Brief Survey of the Ancient History of Armenia	12	1951
<i>Maxoudian, Nonbar</i>	Early Armenia as an Empire: The Career of Tigranes III	21	1953
<i>Nalbandian, Vartoubie Calantar</i>	About the Theory of the Babylonian Origins of the Armenian People	1	1948
	Babylonian Origins of the Armenian People	3	1948
	Sugir/Sugur, The Original Suberians	27	1954
<i>Pasdermadjian, H.</i>	An Outline of the Economic History of Armenia	8	1949
<i>Safrastian, Arsbah</i>	The Land of Khurri	12	1951
	Armenia and Rome Between 200 B.C. and 325 A.D. (4 parts)	24-27	1953-4
<i>Sarkisyanz, E.</i>	Urartu — The Pre-Armenian Armenia	29	1955
<i>Tasbjian, James H.</i>	The American Military Mission to Armenia (13 parts)	5-17	1949-52

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<i>Abeghian, Artashes</i>	History of Armenia	7	1949
<i>Agbbalian, Nicol</i>	The People and the Land of Armenia	9	1950
<i>Arvanian, Veronica</i>	The Living Cult of the Great Mother Anahit	26	1954
<i>Frye, Richard N.</i>	Aspects of Ancient Armenian History	29	1955
<i>Kogy, Bishop H. S. (L.)</i>	The Armenian Language as a Source of History	16	1951
<i>Manandian, Y. A.</i>	A Brief Survey of the Ancient History of Armenia	12	1951
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<i>Pasdermadjian, H.</i>	An Outline of the Economic History of Armenia	8	1949
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<i>Sahagian, Karekin Der, Jr.</i>	A Note on the Racial Origins of the Armenians	22	1953
<i>Samuelian, G.</i>	Totemism Among the Armenians	8	1949
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<i>Abeghian, Artashes</i>	History of Armenia	7	1949
<i>Adontz, N.</i>	Political Currents in Ancient Armenia	29	1955
<i>Agbbalian, Nicol</i>	The People and the Land of Armenia	9	1950
<i>Abaronian, Vardges</i>	The Armenian Emancipatory Struggle (Parts I and II)	24-25	1953-4
<i>Akanc, Grigor of</i>	History of the Nation of Archers	15	1951
<i>Alojian, H.</i>	Origins of the Armenian Colony in Constantinople	26	1954
<i>Armen, Herant K.</i>	The Historian and Historiography	19	1952
<i>Gavadarian, Gara</i>	Dovin and its Role in Armenian History	28	1954
<i>Gregoire, Henri</i>	An Armenian Dynasty on the Byzantine Throne	28	1954
<i>Kogy, Bishop H. S. (L.)</i>	Commentary on the History of the Nation of Archers	15	1951
<i>Kurdian, H.</i>	Waziric Dynasty of Badr al-Jamali the Armenian During the Fatimid Caliphate (3 parts)	7-9-14	1949-51
	A History of Armenian Printing	30	1955
<i>Manandian, Y. A.</i>	A Brief Survey of the Ancient History of Armenia	12	1951
<i>Mandalian, James G.</i>	The Other Side (An Analysis of Herant K. Armen's Thesis)	19	1952
<i>Maxoudian, Noubar</i>	The Kings of England and Medieval Armenia	4	1948
<i>Mesrobian, Arpena</i>	Mekhitar of Sebastia	10	1950
<i>Nalbandian, Vartouhie Calantar</i>	Vardanantz — A Freedom War in the Fifth Century	16	1951
<i>Pasdermadjian, H.</i>	An Outline of the Economic History of Armenia	8	1949
<i>Samuelian, G.</i>	Totemism Among the Armenians	8	1949



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	Paulician Protestantism and Basil I of Byzantium	15	1951
<i>Sarkissian, A. O.</i>	On the Authenticity of Moses of Khoren's History	1	1948
<i>Sirouni, H. J.</i>	The Armenians of Rumania (7 parts)	17-23	1952-3
<i>Surmelian, Leon</i>	The Lesson of a Holy War	27	1954
<i>Totomiantz, Vahan</i>	Some Contributions of Armenians to World Culture	4	1948
<i>Zavrian, H.</i>	The Polish Armenian Colony (4 parts)	13-16	1951
<b>HISTORY SINCE THE 19th CENTURY BEGAN</b>			
<i>Abeghian, Artashes</i>	History of Armenia	7	1949
<i>Abaronian, Vardgas</i>	The Armenian Emancipatory Struggle (Parts II, III, IV)	25-27	1954
<i>Alojian, H.</i>	Origins of the Armenian Colony in Constantinople	26	1954
<i>Banker, Marie Sarrafian</i>	Pioneers of Protestantism in Asia Minor	24	1953
<i>Darbinian, Reuben</i>	Rouben Der Minassian	21	1953
<i>Jerrebian, Rita Adele</i>	The Armenian Question — An International Issue	30	1955
<i>Manning, Clarence A.</i>	Nikolay Marr and Armenian Studies	27	1954
<i>Mardick, John R.</i>	Experiences of a Teen Age Boy	4	1948
<i>Mardikian, M.</i>	The Museum of the City of Yerevan	1	1948
<i>Nalbandian, Vartouhie Calantar</i>	The Armenian Revolutionary Federation	8	1949
<i>Pasdermadjian, H.</i>	An Outline of the Economic History of Armenia	8	1949
<i>Poghossian, Ephrem</i>	Early Armenian Cultural Societies in the United States	27	1954
<i>Sabagian, Karekin Der, Jr.</i>	May 28, 1952	20	1952
<i>Sarafian, Vabe A.</i>	The Problem of Caucasian Population Statistics Under Tsarist and Soviet Rule	23	1953
<i>Sirouni, H. J.</i>	The Armenians of Rumania (7 parts)	17-23	1952-3
<i>Totomiantz, Vahan</i>	Some Contributions of Armenians to World Culture	4	1948
<i>U. S. Court</i>	The Cartozian Case (Text of a Court Record)	24	1953
<i>Vratzian, Simon</i>	The Armenian Revolution and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (parts I and II)	11-12	1950
<i>Zeitlian, S.</i>	Khatchatour Abovian	27	1954
<b>WORLD WAR I, THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC, SOVIETIZATION</b>			
<i>Abeghian, Artashes</i>	History of Armenia	7	1949
<i>Bonsal, Stephen</i>	Armenian Disaster	10	1950
<i>Darbinian, Reuben</i>	A Mission to Moscow (5 parts)	2-6	1948-9
	In the Days of the Republic of Armenia	11	1950
	In Retrospect: A Glance at the Past Thirty Years	23	1953
<i>Elder, John</i>	Memories of the Armenian Republic	21	1953
<i>Khatissian, Alexander</i>	The Memoirs of a Mayor (6 parts)	7-12	1949-51
<i>Kosoyan, Haikag</i>	The First Taste of Soviet Rule in Armenia	21	1953
<i>Mabdesian, Arshag</i>	A Probable Source of "Forty Days of Musa Dagh"	1	1948
<i>Mandalian, James G.</i>	The Armenian Case	1	1948
	The Armenian Side, an Answer to Miss Temel	5	1949
	How the Soviet Wrecked Armenia's Independence	16	1951

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<i>Mekbitarian, Onnig</i>	The Defense of Van (8 parts)	1-8	1948-9
<i>Sabagian, Karekin Der, Jr.</i>	May 28, 1952	20	1952
<i>Sarafian, Vabe A.</i>	The Problem of Caucasian Population Statistics Under Tsarist and Soviet Rule	23	1953
	Soviet Colonialism in the Caucasus	25	1954
<i>Saro, H.</i>	Terrors from the Crime of 1915	5	1948
<i>Tashjian, James H.</i>	The American Military Mission to Armenia (13 parts)	5-17	1949-52
<i>Terterian, Hambardzum</i>	The Levon Chanth Mission to Moscow (Part I)	30	1955
<i>Vemian, V.</i>	Two Little Known Letters of Enver Pasha, Written from Moscow	3	1948
<i>Vratzian, Simon</i>	How Armenia was Sovietized (5 parts)	1-5	1948-9

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<i>Adamesteanu, Dinu</i>	Nicholas Iorga and Armenian Studies	28	1954
<i>Arda, Fouad</i>	A Glimpse at Modern Turkey	3	1948
<i>"Azdak" (newspaper)</i>	Remnants of the Turkish Genocide	8	1949
<i>"R. D."</i>	The Question of the Armenian Boundaries and the Repatriation	1	1948
<i>Darbinian, Reuben</i>	In Retrospect: A Glance at the Past Thirty Years	23	1953
	Crucial Issues of the Day	26	1954
	Our Neutrals	28	1954
	National Unity and Its Enemies	30	1955
<i>Kassian, Eddie</i>	Man Hunt	7	1949
<i>King, E. H.</i>	A Visit to the Tomb of a Medieval Armenian Patriarch	6	1949
<i>Kusbikian, B.</i>	One Month in Turkey	22	1953
<i>Mandalian, James G.</i>	The Armenian Case	1	1948
	The Armenian Side, an Answer to Miss Temel	5	1949
	The 151 Repatriates from America	13	1951
	The Armenians of America	28	1954
<i>Mekbitarian, Kourken</i>	A Quarter Century of Armenian Literature Abroad	23	1953
<i>Melkonian, Vartan</i>	Armenians in Iraq	6	1949
<i>Sabakian, Aram</i>	The Case of the Disillusioned Returnees to Soviet Armenia	4	1948
<i>Sarafian, Vabe A.</i>	The Soviet and the Armenian Church	30	1955
<i>Tashjian, James H.</i>	Brig. Gen. Haig Shekerjian	17	1952
<i>Temel, Sefie Bilge</i>	The Armenians as Viewed by a Turkish Student	5	1949
<i>Vasilian, Hampartzoum</i>	Two Months in the Interior of Turkey	17	1952

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<i>"R. D."</i>	The Question of the Armenian Boundaries and the Repatriation	1	1948
<i>Darbinian, Reuben</i>	In Retrospect: A Glance at the Past Thirty Years	23	1953
<i>Darian, Armen</i>	Distinguished Armenians Purged by the Soviet	19	1952
<i>Ermoyan, Herand</i>	Soviet Armenia Today	7	1949
	Recent Reported Developments in Soviet Armenia	8	1949

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	Recent News from Soviet Armenia	9	1950
	More News from Soviet Armenia	10	1950
	More News from Soviet Armenia	11	1950
	Inside Soviet Armenia	12	1951
	Developments in Soviet Armenia	17	1952
	New Developments in Soviet Armenia	18	1952
	The 1951-1952 Soviet Purges in Georgia and Armenia	20	1952
	The Armenians of Soviet Georgia and Azerbaijan	21	1953
Gerounian, H.	Armenia Under Soviet Rule	3	1948
	In Soviet Erivan	4	1948
	Vandals Destroy Armenian Monuments in Tiflis	7	1949
	Code Letters from Armenia Tell Real Inside Story	10	1950
Hamazaspian, A.	Soviet Armenian Soldiers Speak	18	1952
Haroot, Armen	The Purges in Soviet Armenia	15	1951
Hovak, H.	The Story of a Soviet Soldier	17	1952
Hovian, Stepan	The History of Armenian Literature and its Study in Soviet Armenia	27	1954
Kassian, Eddie	Man Hunt	7	1949
Mandalian, James G.	The 151 Repatriates from America	13	1951
Mardikian, M.	The Museum of the City of Yerevan	1	1948
Martiros	Fugitive From Tyranny	22	1953
Navassardian, Vahan	Bolshevism and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation	5	1949
Nayiri, S.	The State University of Erivan	9	1950
Sabagian, Karekin Der, Jr.	May 28, 1952	20	1952
Sabakian, Aram	The Case of the Disillusioned Returnees to Soviet Armenia	4	1948
Sarajian, Vabe A.	The Problem of Caucasian Population Statistics Under Tsarist and Soviet Rule	23	1953
	Soviet Colonialism in the Caucasus	25	1954
	The Soviet and the Armenian Church	30	1955
Sarkisian, Haik	The Number of Armenians in the U. S. S. R.	27	1954
Saroyan, William	Hayastan and Charentz	28	1954
Schmidt, Werner	In the Land of the Armenians	4	1948
Stepanian, Arkady	The Armenian Case and the Conflicting World Forces	2	1948
Txitsernak, K.	Aghasi Khanjian	10	1950
Vratzian, Simon	Culture in Soviet Armenia	23	1953
PROBLEMS OF BOLSHEVISM			
N. Beglar	Inherent Weaknesses of the Soviet Union	13	1951
Chilian, A.	The International Crisis	2	1948
Darbinian, Reuben	Some Thoughts on Burning Issues of the Day	7	1949
	The Soviet Riddle	12	1951
	Toward War or Peace	13	1951
	America and the Russian Future	14	1951
	About the Present World Crisis	15	1951
	The Nationalities Problem in Russia	16	1951
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**OF ARMENIAN REVIEW**

Boston, Massachusetts, Oct. 1, 1955

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Armen Vahe, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the BUSINESS MANAGER of the ARMENIAN REVIEW and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411 Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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